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JPRS-EPS-84-110

6 September 1984

# East Europe Report

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

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6 September 1984

EAST EUROPE REPORT  
POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

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INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

ALEKSANDROV PRAISES POLISH, BULGARIAN FRIENDSHIP

AU261705 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 24 Jul 84 p 4

["Text" of speech by Chudomir Aleksandrov, BCP Central Committee Polithuro member and first deputy premier of the People's Republic of Bulgaria, at the 23 July meeting with workers of the Lublin truck plant]

[Text] Esteemed comrades, dear Polish Friends, men, and women,

First of all I would like to offer you most cordial thanks for your invitation to visit your socialist plant and to meet its magnificent collective.

It is an honor and pleasure for our delegation, which has been invited to attend the 40th anniversary of People's Poland, to be among representatives of the Polish workers class in revolutionary Lublin and its voivodship. Our pleasure is all the greater since we have the great satisfaction to extend to you the most cordial fraternal greetings from our people's workers class, the Council of Ministers of the People's Republic of Bulgaria, the BCP Central Committee, and its First Secretary Comrade Todor Zhivkov. We wish to convey to you best wishes for good health, revolutionary prowess, every success in your struggle, and new achievements in your socialist construction.

I will not be reluctant to tell you that it was with tremendous satisfaction that we accepted the invitation to visit Lublin and its truck plant. There are many reasons for this, but I will mention only the most important ones. Lublin and its voivodship are the cradle of People's Poland. It was here that the First Polish Army merged with the partisan movement to become the Polish People's Armed Forces. This region has become dear to every Pole because it was here that, after the region had been liberated by the Soviet Army, the historic July Manifesto was issued by the Polish National Liberation Committee. As people say, everything began here. Poland's further development was a crowning glory of that historic moment.

The Polish people were subjected to harsh trials by the most destructive war in the history of mankind. The Polish people had to pay with some 6 million lives, sufferings, and enormous material and moral losses for their freedom. Nevertheless, within 40 years Poland eliminated the war ravages, embarked upon the road to socialist development and profound changes, organized itself within just borders, and became a modern socialist state. Those 40 years were years of



reconstruction to eliminate war damage and of intensive creative efforts and patriotic militancy on the part of the working masses guided by the PZPR--the heir to the revolutionary struggles and traditions of the Polish workers class and all the Polish people.

In bloody struggles against fascism, in the struggle for socialism and better life, in defiance of the efforts made by imperialism and counterrevolution, and in the face of the unprecedented hostile actions taken by the U.S. Government and of the brutal attempts to interfere in Poland's internal affairs in order to drive a wedge between it and its allies, Poland, which is led wisely and resolutely by the PZPR allied with the other political parties, continues to score newer and newer achievements in normalizing life in all spheres. Dear comrades and friends, we pay homage to the feats of the known and unknown fighters for freedom, independence, progress, and socialism in fraternal Poland. The workers class now knows who is its enemy and who its friend. A friend in need is a friend indeed.

Forty years of people's rule is a historically short period of time, but the results and experience amassed within it are enormous. These achievements must not be belittled because of the errors and difficulties of the development of socialism. Your experience makes it signally obvious that it is necessary to consistently stick to the basic principles of socialist construction and to increase our joint efforts in the struggle for peace, security, and social progress. We highly value your achievements. We understand your difficulties and we are sincerely pleased with the fraternal Polish People's achievements, all the more so since they have not been easy achievements, but have had to be worked for through intensive creative and wise efforts of the working masses and through the policy of the PZPR and its Central Committee supported by the people.

We highly value the peace policy followed by the PPR and its crucial contribution toward enhancing the strength and unity of the Warsaw Pact and CEMA. This means that the complicated problems still facing you will be successfully solved. We profoundly believe they will be. Todor Zhivkov, BCP Central Committee general secretary and chairman of the State Council of the People's Republic of Bulgaria, expressed our conviction in this regard when during the visit of the Bulgarian party-state visit to Poland last April he said: "Our present visit has inspired us with resolute faith and conviction that Polish problems are being and will be solved to the advantage of socialism and communism. This is guaranteed by the correct policy of the PZPR, which is aware of the problems emerging in the course of socialist construction and which is telling the working masses how to fight for the further normalization of the country's situation." Todor Zhivkov stressed: "We have been and are in this struggle with you. We are deeply convinced that, given the fraternal support of the socialist community countries, the industrious Polish people will overcome the existing difficulties and obstacles."

In the past centuries the Bulgarian-Polish relations have been marked by many fine events of the joint struggle for national and social liberation. Our friendship has deep historical roots. For the past 40 years traditional Bulgarian-Polish friendship has been developing on the unshakable principles of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism as well as on the basis

of the unity of our goals and aspirations and of our common friendship and cooperation with the great Soviet Union. Our Treaty of Friendship, Cooperation, and Mutual Assistance is a lasting foundation of fraternal relations between the Bulgarian and Polish peoples.

The visit to the People's Republic of Bulgaria by the Polish party-state delegation in May 1982 under Comrade Wojciech Jaruzelski and the visit to the PPR by our party-state delegation under Comrade Todor Zhivkov last April have provided new incentives for fraternal Bulgarian-Polish relations. The basic accords signed during those visits constitute a reliable basis and a genuine program for further enhancing the unity and strength of the People's Republic of Bulgaria and the PPR, which are members of the Socialist community. "Friendship and cooperation between Poland and Bulgaria are of good service for socialist construction in our countries," W. Jaruzelski said in his Warsaw speech last April. "Our friendship and cooperation have their international dimensions and help strengthen the cohesion of the socialist community and all the forces fighting for peace, national security, and social justice." May this example become a new incentive for an even fuller development and improvement of our socialist brotherhood now and in the future. May it endure years and centuries and may it be of service for our future jubilees.

Comrades, we have a common destiny, which manifests itself not only in the celebrations of this 40th anniversary. We have a common destiny because our struggle and goals are common. As an inseparable segment of the socialist community, the People's Republic of Bulgaria continues to resolutely thread the road mapped out by the BCP and to implement the testament of the great Georgi Dimitrov, our leader and teacher. Today the main activity of our party, state, social, and economic bodies is to creatively implement the resolutions of the 12th BCP Congress and the tasks mapped out by the National Conference of Delegates, which was held last March and was devoted to quality. Extensive political, ideological, and organizational work is being promoted throughout the country to ensure the implementation of those resolutions in all spheres of social life and to worthily welcome the 40th anniversary of the victory of the socialist revolution in our country. United and rallied around the Leninist general line of the BCP, the Bulgarian people continue to creatively and most intensively construct a developed socialist society. Our state is developing steadily and rapidly along these lines.

In the past few days intensive and productive efforts have been made in Bulgaria to harvest grains, fruit, and vegetables. Important projects, houses, plants, power stations, schools, and kindergartens are under construction. Culture, art, science and education are developing successfully. Socialist democracy is being extended and improved.

During the 40 years of its socialist construction the People's Republic of Bulgaria has been transformed into a developed industrial-agricultural country. Compared with 1939, national income has increased 13 times. The national income that was produced in the entire year of 1939 is now produced in 28 days. The social product of the entire year of 1939 is now produced in 17 days. Industrial production increased 81 times and farm production 3 times.

The Eighth 5-Year Plan, which is now in the fourth year of implementation, occupies an important place in creating the material and technical base of the socialist state. It is expected that national income will increase 20 percent. A program of unprecedented range is now being implemented to extend and deepen the share of the national economy in socialist integration.

This is a brief list of achievements of present-day Bulgaria, which has begun its 1,400th year as a country that is stronger and richer than it has ever been. Regardless of the complicated international situation, the anti-Bulgarian provocations staged by American imperialism, the ever changing situation in the world markets, and the deepening crisis in the capitalist countries, our economy is growing all the time. It is the economy of a country that is genuinely socialist--an economy that has strong links with the economies of the USSR and other CEMA countries. In its development Bulgaria relies on the assistance from and cooperation with the socialist community countries. Treaties of cooperation and mutual assistance were signed with those countries as early as the years following the date 9 September 1944. During the present 5-year plan period trade with CEMA countries will be 41 percent higher than in the previous 5-year plan period. The share of the PPR in this trade is considerable. It has increased 27 percent.

Expanded and intensified cooperation offers new opportunities for intensifying the national economy, raising the effectiveness of production, improving the production structures of the branches of industry, rapidly implementing scientific-technical progress, and realizing the modernization and reconstruction of production capacities. The trade in machines and equipment with fraternal Poland and other socialist countries is playing an important role in this modernization and reconstruction. We are proud of all these achievements because we are worthy members of the great socialist family and contribute in line with our potentials toward strengthening our camp and our peaceful socialist system.

According to the evaluation of our party, the affairs of the Bulgarian workers class, which is the leader of the socialist revolution and the creator of new Bulgaria, are among the top affairs of our people. It was the role of this class in our socioeconomic and political life that helped implement the basic social and economic principles of the BCP's policy. These principles are defined by the slogan "Everything in the name of man, everything for the good of man." They inspire and unite all the efforts made by the party and the people make the struggle for social progress and socialism a real and close goal.

The living standards of our people are increasing and will continue to increase. This is the line mapped out by the party and the workers class. The goal is to creatively democratize the social relations in the state still further. The basic distinctive feature of these relations in socialism is work. We want to improve the complex of those socioeconomic relations that directly affect the readiness of the workers class and work forces to assume the duties of the masters of socialist property and to organize work in such a way that it is more efficient in producing the social fund, improving the conditions of rest and work, and meeting the personal needs of teams of workers, individual workers, their relatives, and all the people.

Comrades, our party and the People's Republic of Bulgaria view the efforts to strengthen the unity and cooperation of the socialist countries as the most important factor in the security of our peoples and in their peaceful and creative efforts. Maintaining and strengthening peace, preventing the danger of nuclear war, halting the arms race, and promoting relations based in trust and mutually advantageous international cooperation—all this is the basic task of the foreign policy followed by the socialist community countries, including the People's Republic of Bulgaria and the PPR. Our country fully supports the Soviet Union's peaceful proposals to improving the international situation, to halt the arms race, to promote disarmament, and to ban and eliminate chemical weapons. We also fully support the most recent proposals submitted by the Soviet Government to the effect that immediate negotiations should be started on a complex of issues whose solution would prevent the militarization of space. We are convinced that, given good will on the part of the Western countries and the strict observance of the principles of equal security, the nuclear arms race could be halted. The countries could begin implementing genuine steps toward nuclear disarmament.

A constructive road to this goal is to stop deploying the new U.S. nuclear missiles in some West European countries. Such a measure, in which all the nations in the East and the West are vitally interested, would create more favorable opportunities for continuing negotiations on reducing the military confrontation and tension in Europe and the world. We attach particular importance to concluding a treaty on the mutual renunciation of the use of military force and on maintaining peaceful relations between the Warsaw Pact signatories and the NATO countries. As Comrade Konstantin Chernenko said, "concluding such a treaty would be a measure of enormous political significance and would help make a breakthrough in the efforts to improve the climate of international relations."

We believe that the Stockholm conference, whose second stage was recently completed, is the body that should employ extensive means in restoring and increasing the trust among states and in strengthening the security in Europe. However, to do this it is necessary to ensure that during its further work the conference should objectively discuss the most important problems of the present times. That is why it is becoming necessary to unmask and overcome the attempts made by the Reagan administration to impose onesided disarmament on our camp, which would undermine the military balance of power in the world. The Polish and Bulgarian peoples and the peoples of the fraternal countries, as well as all the peace-loving nations in the world reject the unrealistic and nonconstructive approach of the United States and other NATO countries to international problems. The Warsaw Pact countries are not seeking nuclear superiority, but they will not allow the nuclear balance to be disturbed. The attempts of imperialism to weaken the unity of our countries and peoples are doomed to failure. Today we are convinced more than ever before that it is necessary to strengthen our unity and strength in order to be able to effectively repulse the attacks of the class enemy and to live in peace and security, which is the basic condition for implementing socialist construction in our countries.

Dear Polish Friends, I would like once again to extend to you our most cordial greetings on the occasion of your national day and the 40th anniversary of people's rule and to wish all of you every success in your production and social work. May your toil produce the best possible results, may every day bring you happiness, and may your dreams about a richer life that is worthy of the present and future of socialist Poland come true.

Long live the 40th anniversary of the fraternal PPR! Long live the friendship between the BCP and the PZPR! Long live the friendship between the Bulgarian and Polish peoples! May it gain in strength! Long live the unity and cohesion of the socialist community countries! Long live peace and socialism!

CSO: 2600/1162

CPSU WORKER-CENTRAL COMMITTEE MEMBERS TOUR POLAND

Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY in Polish 20 Aug 84 p 2

[Text] A five-member group of Soviet workers, also serving as members of the Central Committee and Central Audit Commission of the CPSU, ended their visit to Poland on 18 August. The delegation consisted of Yevgeniy Kenchenko, member of the CPSU Central Committee and toolmaker at the "Minsk Tractor Works imeni V.I. Lenin" Industrial Association, Aleksander Kolesnikov, member of the CPSU Central Committee and foreman at the "Mlodaya Gvardiya" Mine of the Krasnodonugol Association, Voroshilovgrad Oblast, Vasili Malykhin, member of the CPSU Central Audit Commission and electricians' foreman at the Volga Automotive Works imeni 50th Anniversary of the USSR, Vladimir Tikhomirov, member of the CPSU Central Committee and precision lathe operator at the Electrical Engineering Works imeni Vladimir Il'ich in Moscow, and Ralsa Udalaya, member of the CPSU Central Audit Commission and a worker at the Novosibirsk Aircraft Factory imeni Chkalova.

This was the first delegation of workers-members of national governing bodies of the CPSU to visit our country under the terms of the Agreement on Cooperation Between the PZPR and the CPSU. The purpose of the visit was to give these Soviet party officials a better understanding of the working environment of the PZPR and the living conditions of the Polish working class. At the end of their visit to Poland all members of the delegation stressed that all of the objectives of this tour had been fulfilled.

The Soviet guests visited several Polish cities, where they toured some industrial plants, including the Lenin Iron and Steelworks in Krakow, the "Ursus" Machine Building Plant in Warsaw, the "Baildon" Iron and Steelworks in Katowice, and the "Oswiecim" Chemical Plant where they were briefed on the production programs of these facilities, employee working conditions, and the programs of social organizations. The members of the delegation attended numerous meetings with the workers employed in these plants and asked questions about their job duties, social welfare conditions, and also the living conditions of the Polish working class in general. During the course of these meetings a great deal of attention was focused in particular on the work programs of party organizations, workers self-management bodies, and trade union organizations in these various plants.

On the last day of their visit to Poland the delegation from the CPSU Central Committee and Central Audit Commission met with Wlodzimierz Mokrzyyszczak, alternate member of the Politburo and secretary of the PZPR Central Committee. During the course of this meeting the Soviet guests mentioned that they were pleased to have had an opportunity to visit Poland and gain some firsthand knowledge about the problems of this fraternal nation, and they then went on to share some of the impressions they received during their tour of the country and the meetings that were held. W. Mokrzyyszczak briefed the guests on the main thrust and forms of the PZPR Central Committee's programs and stressed the peasant-worker background and growing activism of its membership. Much time was also set aside for an exchange of views on the practical aspects of the party's action program, on the work the Central Committee is doing to sustain its close ties with basic party organizations and working class centers, on public consultations in advance of critical decisions, and so on. The director of the Office of the Secretariat of the PZPR Central Committee, Boguslaw Kolodziejczak, attended this meeting. Vasili Svirin, minister-counselor of the Embassy of the USSR, was also present.

CSO: 2600/1196

## ALBANIA

### EFFORTS TO ERADICATE CLAN REMNANTS IN TROPOJE

Tirana RRUGA E PARTISE in Albanian May 84 pp 46-54

[Article by Elidiana Abazi: "Our Socialist Society Is Developed in the Struggle Against Clan Remnants"]

[Text] The concept of the clan, by which has been understood and is understood ties of kinship and association among specific groups of people, has evolved parallel with the country's economic and social development during these last four decades of the people's power. The conception of the place and role of the person in the clan and of the clan in society has undergone particular evolution.

That time is now distant when the clan represented the chief form of social organization, when the interests of its members were expressed and defended in the clan and by the clan, when it had its own territorial extent, its norms and laws which regulated relations among people within the clan and among various clans, and when it had even taken the form of a military organism in case of battles against enemies who infringed on the interests of the clan or the soil of the country as a whole.

Through the great educational work of the party and its levers, a conviction has been created and consolidated in Tropoje District to the effect that "today there is no clan community and no alliances among clans which defend and preserve us from dangers and misfortunes, but there are our party, our state, our union and the militant unity of the whole people which constitute the guarantee of all victories and the foundation of our progress and happiness." In addition, "all the theories about the clans and tribes have been constructed on a reactionary foundation. Family unity, based on Marxist-Leninist and humanitarian principles, must not be confused with the clan and the tribe, built on the foundation of religion and the Kanun [collection of laws and customs transmitted orally for several centuries among the Northern Albanian clans; the most widely accepted codification of such laws was made by Leke Dukagjini in the 15th century.]" (Enver Hoxha, "The Correct Policy of the Party and the Heroic Work of the People Bring Prosperity and Progress to Our Highlands," 1970, p 74).

That strong political, ideological, economic and social unity which characterizes the workers of Tropoje District attests to the new conception of the role of the person in society and in the country, as well as the role of the clan in our socialist society.



The party organs and basic organizations struggle to eliminate every remnant of the past from the life of the people, such as the old grudges and feuds among clans and families, an area where good results have been achieved in Pac, Tropoje, Valbone and Begaj. The struggle against religious remnants, backward and conservative customs, against patriarchy and the bajraktar [clan chief] system has been waged directly or in an indirect manner, as it has against clan remnants, as well as against the spirit of localism or regionalism. The intensification and experience of work in this area has constituted and still constitutes an important direction in the work of the party to create the new man and to consolidate new relations among people.

Nevertheless, even if a new rule has been made, remnants of the past are still encountered, among them clan remnants which, as the party drew attention to at its Eight Congress, constitute a serious obstacle on our socialist path. It is characteristic of these remnants, including clan remnants, "that they are extremely resistant and continue to exist even if the conditions that engendered them have changed radically; they take on 'new' forms, camouflage themselves with socialist norms and are resuscitated where they find appropriate soil" (Enver Hoxha, "Report at the Eight AWP Congress," p 126).

In what form and with what intensity are they expressed in Tropoje District?

As a result of the preservation of the old clan spirit and conceptions, in some zones and villages of the district, and even in some work centers or quarters of the city, attitudes are maintained and unlawful acts committed in defense of narrow interests of the family, the clan, the quarter and the region without examining whether this "defense" corresponds with the general interest, with the norms that regulate social relations, and with the jurisdictions and responsibilities of organs or cadres that defend these interests.

Some old remnants and customs of the past, closely connected with those of the clan, operate in a mitigated manner because those who transmit them attempt to adapt them to new conditions. Vengeance, for example, this form of self-judgement once so widespread for the defense of the clan's "honor," is now very rarely encountered in its old form. The members of the "insulted" clan now take vengeance in new forms: by spreading gossip in the area of morals, by damaging the economic interests of the "opposing" clan and even by searching for stains in the biographies of its members.

Conscious of the negative influence which clan remnants and manifestations continue to exert, the party committee of Tropoje District has striven for a thorough knowledge of the intensity and potency which they have in the various age groups and categories of people and in the various sectors of life and activity. On this basis, they have given directives and are helping in order to cut the roots of clan remnants and all the other remnants of the past with which they cooperate.

The increase and strengthening of the economic foundation of socialism, of the economy of the country as a whole and of each of its economic units, the increase in income and well-being of every family, the strengthening of feelings of personal and collective responsibility in the fulfillment of tasks and authority, the thorough understanding and application in practice

of laws of the dictatorship of the proletariat, and the strengthening of convictions regarding the damage effected by the clan spirit in general constitute a complex activity which is accomplished and must be better accomplished in the future under the leadership of party organs and basic organizations in order to further weaken the influence of the clan in the life of workers of the district.

1. The unity in the bosom of the people and of the people around the party, as Comrade Enver Hoxha has stressed, is the golden key to all our triumphs. This unity has a class character. It is achieved, strengthened and defended through the class struggle.

But it is well known that this unity is not abstract. It is not created outside of or independent of concrete historical conditions, outside or independent of the tasks resolved by the people in the whole of their daily life and activity. This unity, in Tropoje District, is consolidated and strengthened together and parallel with work performed for the realization of tasks of socialist construction and, in the first place, for the creation and perfection of the new man with a lofty moral socialist world outlook and virtues. On this plane, work is also done to preserve the glorious traditions of our people, such as trust, generosity, love of country, hospitality, inflexibility and resoluteness, together and parallel with the creation of a new socialist psychology of work and common property. The accomplishment of tasks with integrity, rectitude and lofty feelings of responsibility by the overwhelming majority of workers in this district attests to the existence of a healthy unity of thought and action.

In the meantime, practical life in this district indicates too that these positive factors may be weakened and, in addition, the unity in the bosom of the people may also be injured wherever and whenever the remnants of the spirit of clan relations are not combatted systematically and with the required force, and elements of these remnants are permitted to influence relations in production and society. Several phenomena attest to this and they sometimes take on an acute character, as occasionally happens in the case of elections to the people's councils and courts. The old thirst of the clan for power, its desire to be in the foremost position in the village, or to have a person of their clan occupy a state or social position so that he should do them honor and favors, impels some people, including even some communists here, to persist--even by unjust means--in order to elect the people of their own clan to the people's councils of the village, the united village, the city and the district, to the people's courts, to the chairmanship of agricultural cooperatives and to the legal organs of organizations of the masses. If they do not achieve such a thing, they begin to raise objections and write letters and wall posters about candidates who do not belong to their clan, as happened during the campaign for elections to the people's councils and courts in 1983 in the villages of Cernice, Lekurtaj, Babine and elsewhere.

This persistence is not accidental. We say this because, with all the work and efforts that are made to judge and work equitably everywhere, on the basis of party norms and state laws, cases are still encountered in practice

when some elected or appointed people use the responsibilities and authority they are given in order to fulfill, on a priority basis, the needs and requests of their own relatives and clan members and of their friends.

What consequences accompany these mistaken attitudes? Aside from the violation of principles, norms and laws involved in securing unmerited honors and favors for some people, two opinions arise regarding the elected or appointed cadre in these cases. While his relatives are pleased by the fact that this cadre "does not forget his own clan" and, in compensation, come to his defense when he falls into error, interceding on his behalf as far as the highest organs of the party and government, the others, feeling the unjust actions of this cadre and the unmerited support he gives to his own people, become dissatisfied with his work and convinced that he does not merit the trust of the people. Thus, two groups of people arise with different ideas and attitudes about the elected or appointed cadre.

The relatives of an elected or appointed person from the same clan ask him, for example, to see to it that they are the first to be sent away from the village when the district is executing the plan to raise a labor force from the village for economic enterprises in the city; that they be given study rights for their children; that their punishments be mitigated for the mistakes and crimes that they commit; that they be left more livestock than the number provided for by the statute of the cooperative, even after passage of the resolution on livestock herding for cooperative farms. Feeling these inequities, the people of other clans seek and exploit every possibility that is made to favor their "discriminated against" clan. Wherever the basic party organizations are not in a sound position and do not seize the opportunity to correct mistaken and illegal actions, quarrels and grudges are engendered and the unity of the brigade, the village, the collective and the quarter is harmed.

Clan remnants manifest themselves in various forms in the analyses that are made of the productive activity of the brigade, the sector, the cooperative, the enterprise or the institution. Wherever the sentiment and spirit of the clan is preserved, criticism and self-criticism are developed from sectarian or liberal positions. In order to defend the people of his clan, the cadre remains silent even when they err, based on the idea that "if you criticize your own man, you throw mud on yourself." In this way, the general interest of the brigade, the sector and the cooperative is relegated to oblivion.

In state economic enterprises, clan remnants manifest themselves in the form of gathering a labor force from particular clans and zones. Thus, for example, in the waters enterprise, the communal enterprise and the agricultural enterprise, the people have selected one another according to clan. When such a fact is brought out, attempts are made to justify it by "objective" reasons, such as "the needs of the enterprise" and "the greater possibilities" that this zone or that region has for a labor force or by the "traditions" of people with respect to these sectors of work, etc.

These mistaken ideas and attitudes, which have an idealist philosophical basis, stimulate the narrow interests and conceal the unhealthy solidarity of the clan. Favors and concessions in themselves present vacillations as much in opportunism as in sectarianism. Such attitudes engender and nourish dissatisfaction among people, among clans and among families and damage the people's unity. They keep alive the harmful and totally unreal concept that "if you do not have a friend, you cannot accomplish anything, you cannot resolve any problems, requests or needs."

Such ideas and attitudes are mistaken and have harmful consequences. The gathering together in one collective of people from one or from two clans contains in itself the danger of creating an unhealthy spirit, where each defends the other to the detriment of the general interest. In this way, the conclusion has been reached that the party organs and basic organizations should not underestimate these phenomena in their practical activity. Otherwise, it is possible that troublesome organizational, political and ideological problems may be created whose later resolution will require much more work and time.

Conscious of the harmful consequences of the clan spirit, the party committee of Tropoje District has occasionally drawn the attention of party bureaus and basic organizations to the judgment and resolution of this problem with party spirit and lofty feelings of responsibility. They have been directed and helped to know the appointees better and to arrange strong control over the work of the cadre sectors. In the meantime, the executive committee of the people's council of the district, through the cadre section, is exercising better control over the branches and over the cadre section employees on a foundation connected with the degree of knowledge and level of application by them of authority which the law gives them, in order to bar the way to every illegal attitude and act whose intention is to favor the people of one clan to the detriment of those of another.

The clan remnants exert a bad influence on the unity of the people with respect to the difficulties they create in the new matrimonial bonds. In this area, as in every other area, the new struggles fiercely against the old, but does not always triumph over it. There are few marriages between young men and young women from the same former clan, even if these ties of kinship and association may have passed through several generations. Similarly, there are few marriages between young men and young women who belonged to the former Muslim or Catholic religions.

The concepts and practices of exogamy had once been dictated by conditions themselves. They were a good regulator for arranging connections among clans and alliances in the struggle against the enemy. Today, these concepts and practices have no basis whatever; they must be condemned wherever they manifest themselves, especially wherever and whenever they are transmitted by some communist, as happened with someone in Cernice who expressed himself openly to the effect that "after 7 generations, I do not make any marriage alliances within the clan."

Young men and young women who work together in a cooperative, in a sector or in a brigade, who become acquainted and friendly with each other at work and who know the scientific basis of endogamy, do not see any obstacle with respect to the clan. They only feel the old conservative pressure which condemns it as a violation of custom if they decide to get married. The old custom thus opened the way to marriages by matchmaking, without asking about the young people's love and about their need to become acquainted beforehand. In some villages, the old way persists even if it is seen that some of these marriages do not last long. Last year, the highest percentages of divorces for the district were in the villages.

The old way and the tendency to marry off a girl far from the village of "the clan" has caused a situation in Bujan, Kocanaj, Luzhe and elsewhere whereby many girls have difficulty solving the problem of creating a new family according to their good will. When the young men are raised on the clan concepts of their parents, as happened in Margegaj, the parents of the girl, being under the pressure of the old custom, according to which the couple that was established within the clan was condemned to be sent away from their own soil for 5 years with only the clothes on their bodies, they condemned their daughter's action and did not let her in the house. A gap also began to be created between two families. Gossip about this marriage aggravated the atmosphere of the village and exerted a bad influence on its unity. But the comrades of the party bureau reasoned with maturity and acted with prudence. A group of people whose authority was recognized by the families of the young man and young woman went and spoke civilly about the senselessness of old customs and about the harm they bring to the unity of the people and to the present and future of new families. After convincing the families of the boy and girl about this, they also explained the problem to the whole village.

The intention was to convince the people of the fact that our man must feel that his conscience is dead not when he opposes the old, but if he opposes the new; that he must understand and evaluate the new in its content, and in such a way so that he opposes the old and must also evaluate the old in its content, while he determines his own position conscientiously with respect to supporting the new. The party has made it clear that "for us Marxist-Leninist, the new is that which serves to destroy everything antiquated, regressive and reactionary, everything foreign to our society and ideology; it is that which serves to affirm everything progressive and revolutionary, the development of socialist society, its foundation and superstructure, its production and intellectual life. We always view the new first in content and then in form" (Enver Hoxha, "Reports and Speeches 1972-1973," p 318).

The struggle against clan remnants, as an aspect of the struggle against remnants and manifestations foreign to our society, is a deep class struggle in the awareness of people. As such, it requires multifaceted forms of educational, explanatory, organizational and controlling work. In this object of the class struggle, every party bureau and basic organization must work itself and also require its levers--whether organizations of the masses, economic organs, organs of power or institutions--to become better acquainted with their tasks and obligations, and to execute them effectively in coordination with each other in order to develop, in this way, a frontal and continuous attack.

2. Clan remnants are transmitted from the past in various forms and are often camouflaged by being involved with other remnants of the past, sometimes even with features of socialist ideology and psychology and proletarian morality. We find these remnants among the old, but also among the young, among people outside the party, but also among some communists; we even see them manifested in some basic party organizations.

The ideological and psychological remnants of the overthrown classes, because they are intertwined among them, support and nourish each other in a reciprocal manner. For this reason, the attack against them is required to be not only unceasing and intelligent, but also frontal. The concentration of attention in one direction which presents a major danger for a specific time and in sectors or particular age groups and categories of people does not mean that attention and vigilance are lowered in the struggle against other remnants, whether they are religious or patriarchal remnants, manifestations of bajraktarism [system of clan chiefs], conservatism, liberalism or vendetta. Every one-sided conception, accompanied by a one-sided struggle, spontaneously lowers the effectiveness of the work of the party and its levers.

Parallel with their common aspects, the remnants of the past also have their particular features, which must be known and kept in mind in order to develop the struggle against them in a responsible and effective manner. But the remnants of the past present particular danger, especially those connected with the clan, when they manifest themselves and exert influence in the life and activity of the basic party organizations.

The pressure of these remnants in the bosom of the basic party organizations is exercised from outside, but also by those party members who preserve and defend the clan concept. These remnants cause coteries to be created in the basic organizations and engender disagreements and quarrels which lead to a breach of discipline and unity in the organization and to a violation of principles and norms.

The experience in Tropoje District also proves that the effectiveness of the struggle against these types of remnants depends on the intensity and level of educational work that is performed by the communists in order to explain to everyone the harm these remnants cause to the work of the party, as well as on thoughtful and programmed work done to increase the ranks of the party with young elements who have correct revolutionary ideas about the relations among people. On the basis of this lesson drawn from life, successful work is being done in this district in both these directions. The ground is being constantly further reduced for the action of clan remnants in the basic party organizations and the evidence of the work accomplished is more perceptible.

Nevertheless, it cannot be said that everything is going well everywhere. It is a fact that in those basic party organizations where clan manifestations are observed and campaign work is done to increase their ranks, there is still a tendency to purpose and accept people into the party only from this or that clan, or hesitancy is encountered regarding broadening the organization with young elements, as happened, for example, in Rosuje and Dojan where, up to the first 6 months of 1983, no new admission had been made for 5 years, while

in Babine and Bujan the length of time had been over 3-4 years. Presumably, a so-called "equilibrium of clans" had been achieved in these organizations and they did not give recommendations for new admissions who could have destroyed this "equilibrium." It is a task of party bureaus in agricultural cooperatives and of the party committee of the district to keep up with the life of organizations as closely as possible and to intervene in time in order to bar the way to such mistaken attitudes which seriously harm the work of the party.

Life itself has demonstrated that where the interests of clans exert an influence in the life and activity of the party, it is not possible to have a vigorous life with a revolutionary spirit of criticism and self-criticism. In its place there is sectarianism and opportunism in the judgment and resolution of problems and, especially, in making decisions and maintaining attitudes toward this or that member of the organization.

In the bosom of the party organization, these remnants become worse when they are intertwined with bajraktarism [clan chief system] among certain of its members who attempt to make the law in the organization and, when they are successful, to introduce unworthy people into the party, as has happened in Cernice, or people who, in cases of rendering accounts before the masses, disregard the critical opinions of the cooperativists regarding the work and attitude of some communists, as has occurred in Bujan or Selimaj, or who take punitive measures against some communists without convincing them of their mistakes, something which causes a person not to be reconciled with the measure given.

Those people are admitted to the party who are worthy of it in terms of their principled, correct and honest work, behavior and attitude and their faithfulness to Marxism-Leninism. They justify their attitude to the party by their militant communist work. In the Statute of the Albanian Workers' Party it is required of every communist that "he must work with justice and honesty in every place where he has been appointed...; he must always be guided by the principles of the party; he must not reconcile himself to the resolution of matters on the basis of friendly relations, personal connections, kinship and localism; he must struggle for the precise application of party policy in the selection of cadres and must put people to work on the basis of their loyalty, their political and moral qualities and their abilities."

Knowing well the harm caused to the work of the party by admissions to the party on the basis of clan, the party committee of Tropoje District has maintained an attitude toward cases of their manifestation and is accomplishing programmed work to narrow their sphere of activity. This attitude also serves to strengthen the feeling of responsibility on the part of the youth bureau in the district in terms of recommendations it gives for the admission of the best element to the party from the ranks of young men and young women. Good work is being done to select party bureau secretaries from the ranks of more revolutionary and more developed communists. In some operations, such as in the agricultural cooperatives of Margegaj and Bujan and in the agricultural enterprise of the district, the party bureau secretaries are of a high state educational and party level. Careful work is being done to raise the ideological and political level of secretaries of basic

party organizations and to increase the feeling of responsibility on the part of all communists with respect to the admission to the party of the best, most devoted, most developed and most capable people, regardless of the clan to which they belong.

The creation in every communist of thoroughly firm political and ideological convictions, of the conviction that everyone is a militant communist in the daily struggle to put the decisions of the basic party organizations into practice, are basic factors in the uprooting of clan remnants and every other remnant which opposes the interests of the party and the masses.

The intensification of the struggle against clan remnants, as well as against all other remnants, attitudes and manifestations foreign to our socialist society requires time and the realization of the great tasks set by the party for the continual deepening of the revolution in all areas.

Clan remnants manifest themselves concretely in practice and they must be combatted concretely every day. The new will truly triumph over the old; the future belongs to the new, but it must be supported in the struggle against the old in order to facilitate its birth, diffusion and victory.

The effectiveness of this work must be required and realized, first of all, in the bosom of the basic party organizations. The revolutionary communist is a revolutionary fighter, a defender of the new even when foreign manifestations occur outside the organization, wherever work and life take place.

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CSO: 2100/54



'REVISIONIST' VIEWS ON SOCIALIST PRACTICE CONDEMNED

Tirana RRUGA E PARTISE in Albanian May 84 pp 72-84

[Article by Servet Pellumbi: "The Anti-Marxist Essence of Revisionist Views on the Concept of Practice"]

[Text] In the universally principled and ever resolute struggle that our party has developed and continues to develop against modern revisionism, a central place is occupied by the unmasking of its attempts to strike at, falsify and revise the theoretical and philosophical foundations of Marxism-Leninism, to replace materialism with idealism and dialectics with metaphysics. The AWP and Comrade Enver Hoxha have shown, with facts and convincing arguments, that the revisionists' distancing themselves from the principles of Marxism-Leninism in the political line, in matters of the revolution and socialism and of the strategy and tactics of the revolutionary struggle also lead inevitably to their distancing themselves from the foundations of Marxism in philosophy and from dialectical and historical materialism. But in this area, the general characteristic feature of revisionism, in order to preserve the external appearance of Marxist theoretical and philosophical formulations, in order to mask itself and take the arms of Marxism-Leninism, emerges in the form of hair-splitting. This tactic, among others, appears in the attitudes maintained by the different variants of modern revisionism toward such extremely important concepts of Marxist-Leninist philosophy as that of practice and its place and role in the struggle for knowledge and for the revolutionary transformation of the world.

The new meaning of social practice and its introduction into the theory of knowledge as a basis, aim and source of knowledge and as a criterion of truth has been evaluated by Lenin as an act of Marxist scientific heroism. Without such a new view of practice, it is impossible to understand correctly either the dialectical process of knowledge, as an active reflection of the world, or the essence of man, as an active social being who works, creates and transforms reality. According to Marx, there are not two foundations, one for life and one for knowledge, but only one which conditions both, and this is practice. Thus, for the first time, a correct proportion was established between the explanation of the world and its revolutionary transformation, between theory and practice.

Since that time, the unity between theory and practice became and continues to be the basic principle of Marxist philosophy, the living expression of its critical and revolutionary essence. The new philosophy created by Marx and Engels brought an end to the idealist illusion of the past, according to whose teaching theories are everything and practice, nothing.

For these reasons, it is not accidental that bourgeois and revisionist philosophies have always directed their attacks against the dialectical materialist concept of practice and its role. This struggle has a long history and recapitulates in itself many aspects, gradations and specifics, depending on concrete historical conditions, on currents and variants with which the enemies of Marxist-Leninist philosophy have emerged. In all cases, they have attempted to devalue, distort and revise the Marxist-Leninist concept of social practice.

Therefore, without entering into history, it must be said that the distortion of the Marxist-Leninist concept of practice and the undermining of the dialectical unity of revolutionary theory and practice, which is the cornerstone of the revolutionary world outlook of the proletariat and its vanguard, the communist party, are at the center of coordinated attempts and efforts by different modern philosophical variants of revisionism. In this matter, there is an ever more dominant tendency which may be summarized by the slogan "after Hegel." This tendency is concretized both in the efforts of the Soviet and other revisionists to reduce the dialectic to dialectical logic and the theory of knowledge by means of their call for a working out of "Marxist variant of the phenomenology of the intellect," and also by modernism and the exaltation of the figure of Hegel, in order to negate and devalue the revolutionary change made by Marx and Engels in the field of philosophy. Some Soviet, Yugoslav and other revisionist philosophers, with regard to many matters which occupy a central place in Marxist-Leninist philosophy, say that they were worked out by Hegel, while they reduce the contribution of Marx and Engels simply to one of the application. Thus, according to them, Hegel had been the first to introduce practice into the theory of knowledge.

Without wishing to deny the contribution made by Hegel in the field of philosophy, a contribution which has been evaluated from the dialectical materialist positions of Marx and Engels, it must be underlined that actually Hegel had spoken about "the theoretical idea" and "the practical idea," endeavoring to eliminate the limitations of "pure reason" and of Kant's "practical reason," but he placed practice after theory and understood it simply as a volitive activity of the idea to know and alter itself. As Marx pointed out, he understood practice "in abstracto" because he knew and accepted only one type of work, abstract intellectual activity, to be precise. With Hegel, work took on a mystical quality and the relation between man and nature was transformed into a relation between self-consciousness and consciousness. The aim of historical activity and of human history, according to him, is simply the development of thought and knowledge. For Hegel, therefore, concrete human activity is essentially intellectual activity. That is why he was only able to introduce an idealist conception of practice into philosophy and the theory of knowledge.

The whole of bourgeois and revisionists philosophy, as represented by "the philosophy or practice," "the Frankfurt School," the "praxis" group of Zagreb and others, erase every distinction between Marxist and Hegelian philosophy in the treatment of practice and they declare that Marx viewed practice as a "totality" that embraced everything and conditioned everything, while it itself did not depend on anything--attributes with which Hegel invests the absolute idea. In this way, they even tried to invest Marxist philosophy with the mystical Hegelian identification of theory with practice and being with thought, thus destroying in practice its own critical revolutionary content and its concrete historical form.

In reality, when the classics of Marxism speak of the unity of theory and practice as a fundamental principle of the new proletarian philosophy, they have in mind the organic connection of these two sides of human activity which cannot be identified and merged with one another. Marx opposed to the idealist Hegelian conception a new and concrete conception of man as a product of labor and he viewed the relations among men and between them and nature as social relations. In this aspect, Marx also viewed social practice as a means of man's self-creation in the process of changing and transforming nature and society. "In Marx's dialectic," wrote Comrade Enver Hoxha, "the 'active' and decisive side of development is not the 'dynamism of intellectual activity,' the idea, in other words, but human practice, that is to say the practical material activity of people for the transformation of nature and society" (Enver Hoxha, "Reports and Speeches, 1970-1971," p 108). Marx in no way attributed to practice that role which the absolute idea played in Hegel's philosophy, as the revisionists and bourgeois philosophers preach. On the contrary, the new conception of practice led Marx to a probing criticism of both Hegel's philosophy and the metaphysical materialism of Feuerbach, which denied the determining role of practice in human life and knowledge of the world. If, for Hegel, the theoretical and practical assimilations of reality were merged into one, while for Feuerbach they were considered as two relations which only excluded each other, for Marx, on the contrary, the question of human existence was connected with the practice and the legitimacy of the transformation and development of nature and social relations. This is why the classics of Marxism-Leninism stress the fundamental importance of both the unity and the distinction between human material activity (practice) and ideal, intellectual activity. Marx wrote that "The idealist cannot conceive that there is a world in which consciousness and existence are distinct from each other, a world that continues to exist as before if I withdraw only its ideal existence, its existence as a category or viewpoint" (K. Marx and F. Engels "The Sacred Family," p 284).

Marx and Engels thus connected the character and structure of practice with the fundamental problem of philosophy; they stressed the objective material character of practice and its priority in relation to mental, theoretical and intellectual activity. In the Marxist conception, practice was transformed into a social "knot" in which the object is united with and acts jointly with the subject in a dialectical manner. But practice, being essentially material and primary in relation to knowledge, cannot be taken as identical with reality, which would be to say that nothing exists outside of practice, that there is no other objective reality.

L. Althusser, R. Garaudy and others tried to attribute such typically erroneous idealist qualities to Marx's "philosophy of practice." Thus, in the text of the Yugoslav revisionists, "The History of Philosophy," it is written that, ostensibly according to Marx, "isolated from practice, only the abstract notion of reality can exist, regardless of whether it is called idea or matter," and that "nothing else can exist outside of the frameworks of dialectical practice." Such a discussion of the problem transforms Marx into an ordinary idealist and a forerunner of the "philosophy of practice" which is a variant of subjective idealism, which rests on the conception of practice as an active intellectual activity outside of which nothing else exists.

Actually, we are concerned here with a shameless distortion of the new idea that Marx and Engels brought to the conception of practice. It is well known that Marx, in his "Dissertation on Feuerbach," stressed that "the major flaw of all previous materialism, including that of Feuerbach as well, is that the thing, the reality, the perceptible world is taken only in the form of the object or in the form of contemplation and not as perceptible human activity, as practice, not in a subjective manner"; and that Feuerbach "did not understand the world as practical activity, as perceptible human activity" (K. Marx and F. Engels, "Selected Works," vol 2, pp 428, 429). In this case, Marx, taking what was arrived at by the foregoing materialists as known, i.e., the acceptance of objective reality outside of and apart from consciousness, stressed what was lacking in them, namely practice as a perceptible human activity through which man objectivizes and materializes his aims, purposes and ideals. Marx has this in mind when he says that the thing was first understood in the form of object or contemplation and not in a subjective manner, i.e., not in the connection and dialectical cooperation between object and subject.

In the "Economic and Philosophical Manuscripts of 1844", too, with which many revisionist philosophers speculate, Marx views natural products not only as physical means of existence, but chiefly as means and objects of human creative activity. Both natural objects and feelings of perception are made human in the process of practice. The process of the transformation and humanization of nature constitutes the content of human history and, according to Marx, conditions the organic connection between the history of nature and the history of man; it may therefore be said that there exists a general science which combines these two histories in a single one. In this way, practice, for Marx, is the foundation where the dialectical unity between object and subject, nature and man, is realized, a foundation of both being and human consciousness. All social life, according to Marx, is essentially practice; consequently, all social problems, including those of politics, religion, morality and others, may be correctly understood only from the standpoint of practice and only in human practice is it possible to find their rational solution.

A probing dialectical materialist view of these relations and the full course of Marx's thought and work indicates that they fully retain their value and currency for revealing and casting down the revisionist speculations and their attempts to efface every qualitative distinction between Marxist and Hegelian idealist philosophy, something that constitutes one of the aims of philosophical revisionism at the present time.

But their speculations on practice oblige the revisionists even to pit the classics of Marxism-Leninism against each other. Thus, according to them, "the practical historical dimension is often lacking in the philosophy of Engels," while Lenin ostensibly understood practice only from the theoretical aspect of knowledge, just like the pre-Marxist materialists! According to others, dialectical materialism has deviated from the concept which Marx gave to practice in the period of the "Economic and Philosophical Manuscripts of 1844" because he understood practice as something external, only as activity over nature, while Marx's philosophy is not a philosophy of being, but of doing, action and creation!

Actually, in the treatment of practice, as well as in other basic questions of dialectical materialist philosophy, there are no essential differences among the classics of Marxism-Leninism, nor is it possible to find any, much less diametrically opposed views. It is not at all true that Engels and Lenin viewed practice only in its function of knowledge, only as a criterion of truth; they, like Marx, underlined the concept of practice as a material, perceptual, critical and revolutionary activity through which nature and society are transformed and object and subject cooperate in an active manner: this is the material basis of work, life and knowledge of the world. Lenin pointed out that in the process of practice, "man's consciousness not only reflects the objective world, but also creates it," and that "the world does not satisfy man and man decides to change it by his own action" (V. I. Lenin, "Works," vol 38, pp 223, 225). Engels also emphasized that man lives among things and phenomena that he himself has created on the basis of objective laws and that these bear the stamp of his aims, desires and knowledge. It is precisely this that he evaluates as a decisively important factor in casting down every sort of gnoseological agnosticism and scepticism. "Something that we can make in itself (i.e., produce--my note)," wrote Engels, "we naturally cannot call unknowable" (K. Marx and F. Engels, "Selected Works," vol 2, p 100). A discussion of such a problem is dialectically materialist and speaks for the full unity of viewpoints among Marxist-Leninist classics in connection with the problem of practice and with its place and role in the process of knowledge and the revolutionary transformation of the world.

The classics of Marxism-Leninism, in working out the concept of practice, began from the material aspects of human activity in the various areas of social life and kept in view its broad and contradictory nature, as well as its many forms. Thus, they include in this concept both man's material productive activity for the transformation and active assimilation of nature in order to effect, in Marx's expression, an exchange of substances with nature, as well as social and political activity, the class struggle, revolutions, armed insurrection, etc., which have as their object the revolutionary transformation of social relations, and activity for the practical assimilation of reality in the form of scientific experiments, astronomical, geographical and geological observations, technical and technological revolutions, etc. Therefore, although they emphasize the historical character of the concept of practice, which means that other new forms of material human activity can be included in the future in the structural composition of practice, practice was introduced into philosophy as a concept which was worked out in a rigorous manner. In it are included,

according to Marxist conception, all those forms and sides of human activity which are the basis of life and knowledge and which play the role of the source and aim of knowledge and of the only objective criterion of truth,

Nevertheless, the revisionist philosophers attempted to find grounds on this plane to distort the Marxist meaning of the concept of practice and to justify their idealist and pragmatist theses. Thus, some of them, by distorting Marx's conception and thesis about work and productive activity as an essential content of practice, reduce the whole complicated structure of practice only to productive activity.

We do not deny the fact that productive activity is the most important and determined element of practice inasmuch as, as is well known, the production of material goods is the basis of the existence and development of society and, as such, it exercises the greatest and most decisive influence even in the process of knowledge. But human activity is not limited to production and does not have a simply technical character. In the meantime, it must be said that the revisionists, who reduce the whole complicated structure of practice to only productive activity, are unconcerned about whether they evaluate productive activity in the way it deserves. They do this in order to justify putting aside the class struggle, revolutions and other things which, as material, transforming and revolutionary activity of the working masses, play an irreplaceable role in the development of a society divided into classes.

An identical aim is also pursued by those "philosophers" who attempted to broaden the concept of practice without limit, practice and human activity as a whole. Thus, some Soviet revisionist philosophers introduced all the social and ideological relations into practice, while others also introduced magic cults and all of creative artistic activity into practice, as well as even such moments of internal psychic activity as anxiety, fear, contempt, joy, hope, etc.

Such an extension of the concept of practice, even if it is presented as a "creative development" of the Marxist conception of practice to which, especially in the framework of historical materialism, ostensibly the necessary attention has not been devoted, has nothing in common with Marxism-Leninism. According to dialectical materialism, not every human activity may be a component of practice, as a basis, a source and aim of knowledge and a criterion of truth. Conceptual, theoretical and ideological activity, internal reflexes and other forms of intellectual activity cannot and must not be introduced into the conception of practice, because their introduction into it opens the way to the substitution of practice as the material and transforming activity of the masses by the individual intellectual activity of the "practical" mental assimilation of reality, which is a typical pragmatist concept with which every idealist can express agreement.

It is not by chance that the classics of Marxism-Leninism, when they have spoken of practice, have emphasized its historical social conditioning and its universal character as an activity not of particular people or isolated generations, but as a material transforming activity of the masses which is repeated billions of times and gains the feature of objectivity, of direct

reality existence in a comprehensibly perceptual concrete historical form by our sensory organs. "Practice," says Lenin, "stands higher than (theoretical) knowledge, because it has not only the value of the universal, but also the value of direct reality" (V. I. Lenin, "Works," vol 38, p 225). These features cannot have the forms of intellectual activity, artistic, moral and religious assimilation and other forms of reality.

This indicates once more that the extension of the concept of practice has no other purpose but the substitution of materialism by idealism and the merging of objective reality into practice, understood in a subjective manner "as an instrumentalist maneuvering of things" or simply as a constructing of reality on the part of the individual. Such an idealist and voluntarist interpretation of practice has today been made the fulcrum for many currents of bourgeois and revisionist philosophy which attempt to "subjectivize objective reality" and revive the old voluntarism of the Schopenhauer and Nietzsche type. For this purpose, they render absolute the fact that consciousness and aims play a directing and regulating role in the process of practice. Their aim, therefore, is to deny the real revolutionary character of material practice and to reduce it to individual acts of effecting reality in order, thus, to substitute the materialist dialectic with a subjective dialectic, with the dialectic of thought. This is why the scientific argument made by Marx and the other classics of Marxism-Leninism regarding relations between the objective and the subjective, as well as the specifics of cooperation between them in practice, has taken on a special and currently stressed importance.

Actually, the subjective side of human activity (purposes, desires, etc.) plays a directing and regulating role in practice insofar as it, as human activity, is always conscious and attempts to realize a specific aim. Marx has written that man, through his work, "not only makes a change in the form of natural materials, but at the same time he achieves, in natural materials, his own purpose, which he knows, a purpose which determines as a law the manner and character of his activities and to which he must subordinate his own will" (K. Marx, "Capital" vol 1, book 1, p 244). In this conception, the ideal "transformation" precedes the material transformation.

Nevertheless, according to dialectical materialism, the transforming material activity is primary, because the ideal purposes, goals and motives which man sets before his practical activity are conditioned by the needs of his material life and therefore, in the final analysis by the objective world. "The forms of wood," wrote Marx, "change; for example if we make a table out of it. Still, the table remains wood, remains an ordinary thing which is grasped by the senses" (K. Marx, "Capital," vol 1, book 1, p 105). Therefore, the form he will give to a material in order to create this or that thing in which he materializes his purposes, desires and tastes depends on man and his experience, but as a thing, as an object, as an "inert product," as Marx wrote, it exists outside of and apart from consciousness, because it has the objective character of the substance. Natural objects are changed into human ones only by work, practice, understood as material, transforming activity. Consequently, different subjects, depending on their practical activity and their social existence, reflect and change the same object in different ways.

This is why Marxism-Leninism, without underestimating the fact that practice is a conscious and purposeful activity, views it above all as an objective, material process. In practice, the object and the subject cooperate as material realities and this cooperation itself is achieved according to objective laws which do not depend on consciousness. In this concept, the direction and regulating role of consciousness, of the subjective, is always limited in practice within the boundaries determined by objective conditions of objective reality. Man acts within specific concrete historical conditions and cannot set before himself, apart, those goals and purposes that arise from and are conditioned by these objective conditions and laws of development. At the same time, in his practical activity, man always relies on his previous practice. Every generation that enters life stands on the shoulders of previous generations, said Marx. This means that even the subjective moments of previous practice emerge in their objective form. The new conception of history, Marx wrote before 1845, "does not explain practice beginning from ideas, but explains the formation of ideas beginning from material practice and, consequently, arrives at the result that all the forms and products of consciousness cannot vanish by means of intellectual criticism..., but only by the practical overthrow of real social relations" (K. Marx and F. Engels, "German Ideology," p 51-52). That is the essence of the solution which Marx gave to the relation between the objective and the subjective in the process of practice and which leaves no room for any type of voluntarist interpretation.

Nevertheless, some revisionist philosophers, under the slogan of the "creative development" of the Marxist concept of practice, make particular forms of practice absolute, from positions of relativism and voluntarism, saying that every country, every class and every party has its own practice and therefore also its own truths and theories, as well as its own criterion of truth. By this, in the name of pluralism, of many variants of Marxism and socialism, they attempt to justify the undermining from within of Marxism-Leninism and the denial of its basic principles which, as is well known, are international and do not depend on the special features which practice and the struggle of the working class may take on in different countries. Therefore, we are again concerned with a speculative variant of practice. In this case, the revisionist philosophers do nothing else but return to the old opportunist tendency criticized by Lenin, the trend toward narrower forms of practical activity, in order to cast down the major forms which include the concept of practice in the Marxist understanding.

For this purpose, the old debates are revived among viewpoints which consider practice as a phenomenon with a direct class character and viewpoints which consider it the same for the whole of society and totally unconditioned by the division of society into classes. But such an "either/or" discussion is entirely one-sided and in both cases they directly attack the Marxist conception of practice. In the first case, practice is identified with politics. As every class has its own politics, it also has its own practice. Thus, several parallel practices emerge. In the second case, that of "single practice," the structure of practice is simplified and it is understood outside concrete historical conditions of the class struggle, opening the way to "bourgeois objectivism."



The revisionists present these viewpoints as a debate among Marxists, while, in fact, not one of them is a Marxist-Leninist viewpoint. In the Marxist-Leninist conception, practice is conditioned both by the level of the development of productive forces in society and by the social-class viewpoint, a conditioning which changes historically from one socioeconomic formation into another. Practice, as a complicated dialectical phenomenon, is totally unique and includes within itself forms which, in different ways, determine the process of knowledge and of the transformation of reality, and which give this process itself this complicated and contradictory character.

It may be said, and the classics of Marxism-Leninism have said, with respect to narrow forms of practice: the narrow practice of the capitalist, the petty bourgeois and the small manufacturer; the narrow practice of the artisan and others, that they condition the narrow metaphysical and antiscientific view of matters, as well as the narrowness of theoretical generalizations. This is what Marx said about Proudhon: "By nature, Proudhon had an inclination for dialectic. But after he never understood dialectic truly scientifically, he did not go further than sophistry. Actually, this was connected with his petty bourgeois viewpoints. The petty bourgeois...always says 'on the one hand' and 'on the other hand.' This is in his own economic interests and therefore also in his own politics and in his own religious, scientific and artistic viewpoints. This is in his morality, this is in everything" (K. Marx and F. Engels, "The Misfortune of Philosophy," pp 281-282). Lenin later criticized the narodniki [populists] and economism from this angle and revealed the tendencies of Bernstein's opportunism "toward narrower forms of practical activity."

But without denying "the narrower forms of practical activity," the classics of Marxism-Leninism have stressed that within the concept of practice, as a basis and aim of knowledge and as a criterion of truth, must be included the main forms of material, transforming, critical and revolutionary activity, the forms which express the objective inclinations of the progressive development of society.

This is why the classics of Marxism-Leninism never hid the fact that they expressed and defended the basic practical interests of the proletariat, which did not depend upon nationality. It was precisely this that gave the party-spirit direction to their study and conditioned the scientific depth of theoretical generalizations and foresight for the communist future of mankind.

In this conception, when the classics of Marxism-Leninism required and set as an indispensable condition that theory must be linked with practice, they had in mind not the connection with any sort or practice, not with its narrow forms, but, above all, with the practice that determines the historical movement and revolutionary transformation of nature and society. This means that in order to reveal and explain correctly, e.g., the objective laws of the development of human society, there must be support in the practice of the class struggle of the proletariat and of the broad masses of the people, whose interests are one with the progressive development of society.

This explains why the revisionists and, in general, many of the contemporary bourgeois currents of philosophy do not express themselves against every practice, but express themselves against major forms and inclinations of material, critical and revolutionary practice, because the confrontation with it washes their dirty linen in public and reveals the gnoseological and class roots of their viewpoints and attitudes.

Practice, therefore, has a specific content, structure and role, and it is not possible to narrow it or expand it according to desires and conjunctures. In this conception, without underestimating the special concrete historical features which social practice may take on in different countries and for different classes, it is impossible to justify in any way the pluralist thesis according to which every country, every class, every party and even every individual has its or his own unique practice and criterion of truth. Such a viewpoint leads inevitably to a renunciation even of objective truth as such a content of our knowledge which does not depend either on one man or on mankind (V. I. Lenin, "Works," vol 14, p 147), as a truth for all and not only for some (K. Marx and F. Engels, "Selected Works," vol 2, p 101). And the final aim of all pluralist theorizing is precisely the denial of the theoretical and philosophical foundations of Marxism-Leninism, its basic principles and its universal truths.

This proves once again that "behind professional and philosophical debates," as the revisionists try to present them, stand specific political and ideological aims, attempts to justify, from the philosophical standpoint, a radical moving away from the revolution and socialism, from practice and from the fundamental interests of the proletariat.

This conclusion reinforces, among other things, also the "philosophical debate" developed last year by the Chinese revisionists around the question of "whether practice is the sole criterion of truth," where the way of posing the problem places in doubt the existence of practice as the sole objective criterion of truth. During the "debate," a dominant pragmatist propensity clearly emerged in the treatment of practice and the political and ideological aims that stood behind it were nourished for years by "the ideas of Mao Zedong."

According to the Chinese revisionists, the only criterion of truth can be direct practice, current practice, which they use to justify their anti-Marxist attitudes and their eclectic and sophistic theoretical concepts. The placing of stress only on direct practice and experience, only on what Mao Zedong expressed in "images," such as: "If you want to know the taste of the pear, chew it!" or "If you want to know the ferocity of the tiger, enter its den!", leads to the narrowing of practice to only its empirical conception, to its reduction to a conspicuous concrete form, to the "practice" of one particular man, generation or country, to the separation of contemporary practice from indirect practice and from historical social practice as a whole, which, as is well known, includes the practice of men and mankind, past and present practice. If you start out from such a practice as the Chinese revisionist "philosophers" interpret it, and therefore from a pragmatist instrumentalist conception of it, then it emerges that every item of scientific knowledge, every theory, every thesis, even the axioms must submit to verification on

the basis of current practice. Their aim is precisely to justify the basic thesis that they discussed during the "debate", namely that "every theory has an exception that must be verified," in order to declare Marxist-Leninist theory as antiquated, "as it does not rest on current practice," etc.

Actually, the sophistic game of the Chinese revisionists is not difficult to expose and essentially it is the same as that of other revisionists. The way to reveal this game is again confrontation with the scientific Marxist-Leninist treatment of practice. According to the Marxist-Leninist understanding, we call many concepts, theses, logical images, theories and axioms in general true without needing to verify them again, precisely because they have been verified by past practice, by previous experience or by that of other people. Otherwise, people would begin each thing anew and it would not be possible to speak about either absolute truth or inheritance in the field of knowledge and science.

Practice, according to the Marxist-Leninist classics, is integrity of definitions and synthesis of human material activity, and for this reason it has the characteristic of universality and ensures the concrete connection with the experience of history. "Man's practical activity," wrote Lenin, "has been needed to compel man's consciousness to repeat the various images of logic billions of times so that these images could take on the value of axioms" (V. I. Lenin, "Works," vol 38, p 198). This is why practice, as a concrete stage of one man, of one generation, of one country, etc., as a specific stage in the development of society, and therefore "current practice," cannot serve as a criterion to fully verify or cast down theoretical research and generalizations. If, therefore, a given degree of practice is made absolute and is detached from practice as an historical process, from practice which constantly moves and becomes enriched, it is transformed into something dead and isolated.

It is well known that practice and knowledge understood as particular acts and as "current knowledge" and "current practice" are totally inadequate. Marx says that scientific truths are always paradoxical if they are judged on the basis of daily experience and that a false appearance is attached to things. The classics of Marxism-Leninism has distanced themselves from the beginning from such a narrow and empirical conception of practice. Current practice, according to Marxist philosophy, has its value and importance, but it must always be understood in dialectical connection with and dependence on previous practice because it is supported on, arises from and increases on that foundation. This connection and dependence is made especially comprehensible with regard to the tools of production, through which the consciousness and achievements of the previous generation emerged in their objective form and exerted a direct influence on current activity, and also ensured the connection between the various stages of historical development. Only such a dialectical view yields the possibility for practice to be understood in the process of its real development and for a comprehension of the reason why new objects are continually included in the process of knowledge and ever greater possibilities are created for the active and deeper transformation of objective reality. In this historical process, as Marx pointed out, both the objective and subjective sides of practice change; men themselves change, along with their needs, interests, feelings and knowledge, and new stimuli arise for the further development of practice.

In every aspect in which the problem is seen, therefore, it emerges that it is totally groundless to divide practice into particular cases separated from each other and then to declare, as the Chinese revisionists do, that each thing must be verified in current practice and to place their conjunctural, counterrevolutionary and reactionary politics on a philosophical foundation, vacillating now from the left and then from the right. As Comrade Enver Hoxha has reasoned, this has been characteristic of the revisionist Chinese party and the Chinese leadership both during the time when Mao Zedong was alive and after him. "Chinese policy in general, during the whole time that Mao was alive," Comrade Enver Hoxha says, "was a vacillating one; it was a policy of conjunctures; it had no Marxist-Leninist backbone. An important political problem was discussed one way today and another way tomorrow. It was impossible to find a firm and resolute principle in Chinese policy" (Enver Hoxha, "Imperialism and Revolution," 1978, p 378). The developments today in China, the whole internal and external policy pursued by the Chinese leadership are another evidence of the fact that in the discussions, philosophical debates and in the "Marxist" phrases that they continue to use, there is nothing Marxist.

The vigilant pursuit and unmasking of falsifications and attacks that are made with respect to the philosophical foundations of Marxism-Leninism by the different variants of modern revisionism proves further every day the justness of the path which our party chose from the beginning to oppose revisionism resolutely and to combat it to the end in every area. This also proves that with all the political degeneration and the deep crisis that has attached to all the variant of modern revisionism, the struggle against them, as Comrade Enver Hoxha reasoned at the Eighth AWP Congress, remains an every current task.

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CSO: 2100/54

## BULGARIA

### MINISTER YANKOV REPORTS ON FOREST DEVELOPMENT

AU171533 Sofia BTA in English 0936 GMT 17 Aug 84

[Excerpts] Sofia, 17 Aug (BTA)--During the four decades of people's power in Bulgaria there were created some 1.7 million hectares of new forest lands. At present Bulgaria, which has been suffering from a shortage of timber for a long time, has 70 million hectares of industrial forest plants. One hundred fifty thousand hectares are the forests planted along the roads, near populated areas and in the resorts, writes Mr Yankov Markov, the minister of forests and the forest industry, in today's ZEMEDEL'SKO ZNAME.

It is pointed out in the article that 40 or 50 thousand hectares have been recently planted in Bulgaria annually. Priority is accorded to the coniferous species. The special-purpose forests which are crucial for the water-supply and preservation of the forestry stock are enlarged. The programme for reconstruction of 700 thousand hectares of low-yielding low-value forest stand is being fulfilled.

Instead of the 243 small private wood-processing, furniture and cellulose and paper factories and saw-mills, now there exist six modern combined works in Bulgaria as well as more than 30 works serviced by a stable scientific development organisation. Since 1944 the average annual production of paper per capita of the population has gone up from 3 to 54 kg, the minister points out. Bulgaria is a well-known manufacturer and exporter of furniture. The present task is to renew 25-30 per centannum of the production lists of the furniture enterprises.

CSO: 2200/182

## BULGARIA

### BULGARIAN PRESS ON CEAUSESCU ANNIVERSARY SPEECH

AU241012 [Editorial Report] Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian on 23 August on pages 1 and 5 carries a 2,000-word report on the 22 August ceremonial meeting in Bucharest on the 40th anniversary of Romania's "liberation" and on the speech (1,700 words) at it by RCP Secretary General Nicolae Ceausescu. The RABOTNICHESKO DELO report of the speech notes that Ceausescu stressed that "As a result first of all of the great victories of the Soviet Army, favorable conditions for defeating fascism were created," and that he expressed the "gratitude of the Romanian people to the Soviet Army and the other participants in the anti-fascist coalition."

RABOTNICHESKO DELO reports extensively on the part of speech dealing with Romania's economic successes under the socialist regime. Reporting the international part of Ceausescu's speech it points out Ceausescu's words on "the attempts of imperialism to hinder the independent development of the peoples;" Romania's willingness "to strengthen cooperation with the armies of the socialist countries, members of the Warsaw Pact, and fulfill if necessary, Romania's obligations within the framework of the Warsaw Pact"; Romania's willingness "to solve all contradictions and conflicts peacefully"; and Romania's determination "to further develop the traditional relations of friendship and cooperation with the USSR."

That part of Ceausescu's speech which refers to the deployment of missiles in Europe is not reported at all by RABOTNICHESKO DELO, the paper noting, however, that Ceausescu advocated "the creation of nuclear-free zones in the Balkans, Northern and Central Europe, and other parts of the world."

The RABOTNICHESKO DELO report of Ceausescu's speech does not contain any references to East-West ties.

Sofia NARODNA ARMIYA in Bulgarian on 23 August on pages 1 and 4 carries virtually the same report on Ceausescu's speech. TRUD in Bulgarian on 23 August carries a 150-word report on page 4; NARODNA MLADZHI a 200-word report on pages 1, 3; and ZEMEDEL'SKO ZNAME a 1,200-word report on pages 1, 4. None of these reports mentions the part of the speech dealing with the deployment of missiles in Europe, all stress the parts dealing with developing friendship and cooperation with the USSR.

CSO: 2200/182

## BULGARIA

### BRIEFS

PEKO TAKOV RECEIVES AWARD--The State Council has issued a decree awarding Peko Petrov Takov, hero of socialist labor and hero of the People's Republic of Bulgaria, with the Georgi Dimitrov Order on his active participation in the struggle against fascism and capitalism and the construction of socialism, and inconnection with his 75th birthday. [Text] [AU142007 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1930 GMT 14 Aug 84]

CSO: 2200/182

VACIK DISCUSSES ROLE OF NATIONAL FRONT

Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 2 Aug 84 p 3

[Interview with Miloslav Vacik, vice-president of Central Committee of CSR National Front, by Josef Jedlicka; date, place not given]

[Text] In the closing address at the tenth session of CPCZ central committee comrade Gustav Husak said that the importance of the National Front, and the activity of the individual organizations associated with it, grow along with the new tasks. How this is apparent in practice was the subject of our interview with the vice-president of the central committee of CSR National Front, Miloslav Vacik.

[Question] Which one of the sessions of the CPCZ Central Committee after the Sixteenth Congress dealt expressly with the National Front?

[Answer] I would say that every session of the Central Committee of the party influences the activity of National Front. Of particular importance in this respect was the fourth session which considered the prospects for the further development of agriculture. The sixth session played an important role. It emphasized the task to perfect the whole political system of our society, including the deepening of cooperation between the National Front and the representative and legislative bodies and their executive organs. It was also stated at the tenth session that the National Front, beside the organs of the state and the economic bodies, has a broad function in the planning and fulfillment of the progressive tasks of the 5-year plan in this and the following years. An important circumstance to spur its activity is the 40th anniversary of the culmination of the national liberation struggle of our people, and the liberation of our country by the Soviet army, as expressed in the Proclamation on the occasion of this anniversary.

Out of the sixth session of the CPCZ central committee, and then from the amendments of the legislation pertaining to the National Committees, came forth demanding tasks also for National Front and its individual organizations. This refers to the requirement to increase the participation of people in matters of public interest so that the weighty problems which are to be solved by the National Committees, are also discussed in National Front. We tried very hard



to make the functionaries' aktiv, gathered at the Congress of National Front, understand this as well as possible. In communities and towns we have already succeeded in moving ahead with the specific intention of setting up different kinds of programs in central communities, and in towns of the particular categories. A large amount of work has been done which, I believe, will bring positive results.

Subsequent sessions of the CPCZ Central Committee also concerned the National Front, either as such, or its individual organizations. For example, the issue is to contribute toward creating an environment conducive to the introduction of scientific and technological advances in industry; improving resources conservation and the performance of our economy generally. This concerns the organizations operating in both industrial and residential areas. The activity of the political parties and of the social associations organized in National Front prove that it is possible to work effectively with prominent scientists, technicians, inventors; to give them an opportunity to share their experience. Much can be done by organizations which operate directly in production; not only by the labor unions, but also by Youth Union, Scientific-Technical Society, Cooperative Agricultural Union, Czechoslovak-Soviet Friendship Union, etc.

[Question] However, the contribution of the National Front and of its individual organizations toward tangible economic and other results cannot be easily measured or expressed in figures.

[Answer] True. Sometimes, this contribution cannot be measured at all. It can be assessed indirectly, according to the results achieved overall. In any case, these results reveal either the unproductiveness, or the strength of our activities. Where people do their jobs by rote, where mistakes occur, where the activity of people does not have much support, full dedication, there things cannot succeed. On the contrary, good results speak for themselves.

[Question] How is it with the fulfillment of the National Front election programs?

[Answer] Here the results can be measured and compared more easily. All work is being assessed collectively in the National Front as well as in the government, and on the lower administration levels. The intensity of mutual contacts between National Committees and the committees of National Front is obvious. The Boards of the National Committees and the committees of the National Front on the level of krajs, okreses, towns and committees meet regularly for joint sessions. Ten thousand five hundred such mutual consultations on the basic administrative levels took place in 1983. Considering the number of towns and communities, it means that such joint sessions took place three times a year on an average.

[Question] Certainly the usefulness of this form of cooperation is also increasing in a qualitative sense.

[Answer] These joint sessions cease to be nothing more than an evaluation of the results achieved; they are looking for new ways so that the election

programs are carried through as successfully as possible. This is a good prognosis for the next term in which, as this form of cooperation shows also, is becoming evident another positive response to the Declaration on the occasion of the 40th anniversary of Liberation.

[Question] Can you be more specific on this too?

[Answer] Certainly. An example is joint planning of public meetings, be it meetings of National Committees, or of the National Front; or of general meetings of both organized jointly, the majority being such. The task is to include the largest possible aktiv in this planning; to use the lead time that is often available to get these events organized. Again, it is not a question of the quantitative point of view alone. It is necessary to inform the invited participants fully and well ahead of the agenda, so that they can prepare themselves and contribute their knowledge, suggestions, comments. Only in this way it is possible to see to it that the individual participating organizations can also express their considered opinion and contribute their share toward the solution of the issues discussed.

Much could be also said of the share of National Front in the advancement of cultural and educational activities. For example, in cooperation with CSR Ministry of Cultural Affairs, we verified the compliance with the main directives for the cultural and educational activity in North Bohemia Kraj, namely, in the districts Chomutov, Decin, Liberec and Litomerice.

There are communities which could serve as model for others, but there are also negative experiences. In Hradec and Nisou, all factories and all organizations of the National Front participate in cultural activities. In the community Pencin, population only 500, in Liberec district, a new cultural facility was built in "Action Z" under the leadership of the CPCZ local organization in cooperation with National Committee and National Front. Citizens donated 28,000 hours of volunteer work. This facility is well used in cooperation with all the organizations of National Front. The participation of young people is very large. It is no chance that in Pencin there is no antisocial activity of youth, no vandalism, etc. It is an example of positive influencing of the thinking and behavior of people.

[Question] What is the response to the Proclamation of CPCZ Central Committee; National Front Central Committee; and CSSR government?

[Answer] We register many pledges and challenges coming out of local, district or regional conditions. They are meant to provide an incentive to be followed. They concern all aspects of political and managerial work, construction projects and cultural life.

We have already examples from all krajs. They offer inspiration for many organizations, committees of the National Front, etc. It is good that these challenges and pledges are prepared collectively and so that, right from the beginning, the members of the individual organizations stand behind them.

A positive contribution should be primarily a successful completion of the election programs; a prompt, effective response to certain new needs would also be welcome. This concerns, e.g., the planning of the Spartakiad; the solution of the problems related to water is urgent; the protection of environment; the developing of a rich cultural and social life.

All this should result in specific, useful actions. It is also important to evaluate what has been achieved in forty years in the administration of our committees, what it means in practice to apply the principles of socialist democracy in their management. It is important to continue improving the activity of the National Front, keeping all 5,300 local and city committees of the National Front fully active.

The Proclamation of the central organs gives everyone, without difference to which generation he or she belongs, an opportunity to consider the past forty years, and to draw from them lessons for the present time and for the future. Such lessons that are not confined to words only, but that are reflected in specific deeds.

[Question] Thank you for the interview.

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CS0: 2400/402

## BRIEFS

SCHOOL FOR DISC JOCKEYS--Popularity of disco music is on the increase. More and more young people frequent places where they can dance to the rhythm of their favorite music and listen to the already popular or brand-new hits. But if the disco is to satisfy the esthetic and educational demands of modern entertainment, the disc jockeys involved with it should not be familiar merely with contemporary trends in music. They influenced a tremendous number of young people, and their influence is not necessarily positive, because they are, for the most part, not ideologically and professionally trained. Until now, those disc jockeys, who are accredited with the Prague Cultural Center, have not been able to meet the demand for them generated in the capital. As a result, the Prague House of Culture and the Municipal Council of the Union of Socialist Youth announced last year the establishment of a year-long program at a school for non-professional emcees of disco shows. One hundred twenty applicants applied for admission. A committee of professionals composed of representatives of the Institute for Education and Culture, the Education Department of the National Pedagogical Council, the Prague House of Culture, the Municipal Council of the Union of Socialist Youth, the Prague Cultural Center, the Trade Union Council of Prague, and the Czechoslovak Radio selected 25 of the applicants aged 18 to 25. The selected ones are meeting regularly at District Club Two of the Union of Socialist Youth for 4 hours of theoretical and practical instruction a week. That it is not exactly easy to become a good disc jockey, is clear from the lectures listed in the theoretical curriculum: history of Czech and world literature, modern literature, Marxist-Leninist esthetics, theory of art and art appreciation, theory and practice of art popularization, and theory and practice of disco shows. Of the 25, who enrolled originally, 10 have passed the finals. They will receive a temporary certificate and after a year of satisfactory practice will be entitled to run disco shows. Hopefully, they will make a substantial contribution to the upgrading of entertainment in the capital. [Text] [Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 22 Aug 84 p 5]

CSO: 2400/431

MILITARY CONSTRUCTION PROJECTS TO BE INCREASED

East Berlin MILITAERTECHNIK in German No 4, 1984 (signed to press 11 May 84)  
pp 169-171

[Interview with Maj Gen W. Kaiser (date and place of interview not indicated):  
"The Military Construction and Quartering Tasks Are Being Accomplished in Accordance With the Required Increase in Combat Strength and Combat Readiness"]

[Text] [Question] Comrade Major-General! What results have been accomplished by the members of the army and the civilian employees of the military construction and quartering sector during the past few months in regard to the solution of the tasks set by the 7th and 8th Session of the SED Central Committee and the 13th Conference of Delegates? What is their focus today on the eve of the 35th Anniversary of the GDR and in the following time span?

[Answer] As everywhere in the National People's Army (NVA) and the border troops of the GDR, the members of the army and the civilian employees of the military construction and quartering organs made a very thorough study of the decisions of the 7th and 8th Session of the SED Central Committee and the materials of the 13th Conference of Delegates. We are in the process of transforming the conclusions derived from this study into deeds.

In the documents and materials it is clearly demonstrated that, with the stationing of first-strike weapons in some countries of Western Europe, a new situation has developed with respect to military policy. This situation requires of us corresponding measures for the reliable protection of our socialist fatherland and thus of peace. Embedded in this are also the efforts for the construction and quartering guarantee of the military services of the NVA and the border troops of the GDR. In concrete terms, this means the creation, with increasing quality, efficiency and high speed, of building and stationary technical installations, which offer the optimal provisions for

- the securing of the combat capability and combat readiness of our armed forces,
- the intensive development of the political and combat training of the troops and staffs in the installations and training facilities,
- the instruction and training in the training facilities of the NVA and the border troops of the GDR,
- an efficient quartering of arms and combat equipment, including their rational care, maintenance and repair.

These high demands require creativity, initiative and the willingness to do everything in order to maintain the combat readiness of our armed forces always at the necessary level. We are challenged constantly to acquire the most recent findings of military science necessary for our sphere of work, to analyze thoroughly the military processes that are launched in the installations, and to conceptualize and realize the optimal military-economic solutions derived from them for the building installations. The main point is to build installations which do justice both to the present as well as to the future requirements of military life, which are functionally reliable and dependable.

The minister for national defense, army general Heinz Hoffmann, stated at the 7th Session of the Central Committee that the modern socialist military system--particularly in view of NATO's large-scale preparations for a war against the states of the Warsaw Pact--must develop accordingly. The tempo of the realization of the military construction and quartering tasks must be in keeping with this. This implies the comprehension, in close cooperation with the operative organs, of the objective military requirements in anticipation, to transform them within a short time and creatively into planning, preparation and projection documents, to model difficult and complex tasks in variants, and to realize them in a strictly organized manner, making use of the latest findings of construction techniques and technology.

A high tempo in the fulfillment of our tasks is, therefore, first of all a question of the troop efficiency of our work. This realization is becoming increasingly more pronounced and finds expression in the fact that all installations and projects planned for the current training year could thus far be handed over to the troops and staffs according to schedule. Such results reflect both the increased consciousness of political responsibility of the members of the military construction and quartering organs and their firm determination to make an effective contribution, through our specific means, to the military strengthening of our country in the 35th Anniversary of the Founding of the GDR. We are conscious of the responsibility which we bear for the constant improvement of the service, working and living conditions in the military services, staffs and installations of the NVA and the border troops of the GDR.

[Question] What is being done to improve the service, working and living conditions of the members of the NVA and the border troops of the GDR? What output is being produced in housing construction from the funds of the NVA?

[Answer] Thanks to the care of our party and state leadership and the decisions of the minister for national defense, all important tasks are being solved step by step and with a great deal of continuity through our activity. Thus, in the 35th Anniversary of the Founding of the GDR, too, material and financial funds are being employed to build new quarters, club rooms and buildings or to modernize and better equip existing ones. A number of building installations of supply and maintenance are being perfected so that our soldiers are happy under the harsh conditions of military life. After strenuous training, after the hours and days of being on duty and duty along the border, they are to be able to rest and relax, to satisfy their growing

spiritual and cultural needs, as well as to reproduce their physical and psychic powers. We are devoting a great deal of attention to the supply of housing space. With the funds of our army, approximately 30 percent more apartments are being made available this year compared to 1983; the local party and state organs, too, are giving us their support and are making available urgently needed housing space from their contingents. Dormitories with modern equipment are being built for our unmarried professional soldiers.

We can say in good conscience: From every point of view, we are concerned with better service, working and living conditions of the members of the army and the civilian employees in our military installations, as well as with the provision of housing space to the families of our professional soldiers and civilian employees. With this work of ours we want to attain that the joy of being in the service and the joy of work, as well as the well-being of our people will increase. We are convinced that in so doing we will provide an effective stimulus to the operational readiness and performance readiness of the combat and work collectives in the forces, units and institutions of our armed forces.

[Question] You made reference to the great efforts that are necessary to increase the combat capability and combat readiness of our armed forces. What demands grow out of this for political-ideological education and the military construction qualifications of the members of the military construction and quartering organs? In what way can a still higher quality and efficiency with respect to rationality and intensification be attained?

[Answer] Based on the statements of the 7th Session of the Central Committee, the 13th Conference of Delegates demanded the most favorable ratio of cost and benefit and based its orientation on the increasing weight of military-economic thought and action under the current conditions. Since our sphere of responsibility was entrusted with extensive financial and material funds, it is our party duty to utilize them with the highest military-economic benefit.

In realizing the policy of our party and the demand of the minister, as well as in the interest of a significant increase of the efficiency and quality of our work, we are embarking on the path of comprehensive intensification. We are called upon to make more intensive use of what is available, to modernize and reconstruct existing building and stationary technical installations so that they meet future requirements. Furthermore, the existing and newly-to-be-built installations, such as training classes, technical training centers, shops and maintenance points, must be used more intensively. Together with the military specialists, we want to investigate new ways of the superimposition of functions and to test and step by step introduce a multiple-shift operation in the repair institutions. From these perspectives we have re-examined the military construction norms and are striving for a reduction of economic expenditures by 5-10 percent.

We are giving particular weight to the rapid development and practically-effective transformation of new scientific-technical findings. Modern methods for the judgement of the state of buildings and technical systems, for regeneration and reconstruction, as well as new procedures for the calculation and construction must be quickly utilized. In connection with this, the main

thing is to make purposeful use of microelectronics, both for the reduction of the one-time expenditure during the modernization and erection of building and technical installations and for a more effective utilization and maintenance.

A key problem with respect to the increase of our own productive capacity is the better utilization of the intellectual-creative potential, of the knowledge and ability of our intelligent technical personnel and soldiers, our master craftsmen, noncommissioned officers and warrant officers, our engineers, economists and officers. Their knowledge and ability contains our most significant reserve for the necessary quality, efficiency and production increase. To open up this richest treasure of ours, is a main concern of our political-ideological work.

The commanders and directors of the sphere of military construction and quartering know increasingly better how to present the political, military and economic problems in understandable form, to elaborate the tasks and objectives more clearly, and to motivate the members of the army and the civilian employees to achieve high performance through sensitive political guidance and effective moral stimulation. Thus, for example, we succeeded in earning a profit of more than 20 million marks during the past training year from scientific-technical and innovation activity, as well as through rationalization.

The achievements, however, must not lead us into complacency. In view of the increasingly grave military situation, the effectiveness and tempo of our work must continue to increase; it is also important to overcome with consistence the still existing shortcomings, which frequently considerably limit the degree of efficiency. We can and must, therefore, continue to accelerate the process of the intensification and thus the increase of the efficiency of our work. In so doing, socialist competition is a very important means for us; I believe I can say without any exaggeration that, on the basis of the competition directives of the minister for national defense, have infused it with life. In our sphere, socialist competition and performance comparison have become integral components of the political and military leadership activity, and it is precisely in this that I see a decisive cause for the results we have attained.

[Question]: The struggle for high energy economy has become a focal point of our work. What initiatives are there in the sphere of military construction and quartering in keeping with this?

[Answer] High military-economic efficiency includes the wrestling for better energy economy. First of all, we proceed from the fact that securing of our installations and training measures with respect to energy is a firm component of the economic safeguarding of combat capability and combat readiness. A point of emphasis is the supply with electric power and heat on the basis of domestic sources of power. In line with the decisions of our party, to refine imported raw materials and sources of power, we, too, were confronted with the task of finding a substitute for heating oil.

As is well known, during the past year, after 14 months of work, we converted



all oil-fueled heating plants in the sphere of the NVA and the border troops of the GDR to coal. The basis of our wrestling for high energy economy are the energy order and the corresponding command of the minister for national defense. According to these documents, the commanders, chiefs and directors are obligated to make thrifty use of energy; they charge the military construction and quartering organs with the duty of organizing and conducting this process.

The orientation of our party and the problem definition of our minister in regard to the improvement of energy economy have found a loud echo among all members of the army and civilian employees. The commanders of all levels, the political and party organs, our trade union and FDJ [Free German Youth] organizations have met this task with a high sense of political responsibility and have induced many practical steps. We have given the commanders the requisite assistance, have developed norms, have supported the formation and modus operandi of the energy aktiv and generalized the experience that has been gathered.

As a result of all the efforts, approximately 10 percent of the planned contingents of energy sources could be returned to the national economy in the past year. That is an outstanding achievement, but not yet what is attainable. For this reason, in the transformation of a decision of the minister, we conducted the 5th Energy Conference of the NVA and the Border Troops of the GDR on 14 June 1984. Without going into the results in detail, the goal of the conference consisted in

- the development of long-term orientations for the consistent implementation of the energy policy of the party in the NVA and the border troops of the GDR, with the goal of fulfilling the growing tasks with an energy consumption decreasing in absolute terms,
- the generalization of the best experience of the units, institutions and enterprises of the NVA and the making of the performance of the best the norm of all,
- the presentation of shortcomings and weakness with party-like openness, in order to overcome them in the advance, and
- the triggering of a still broader and deeper mobilization of the members of the army and civilian employees for the thrifty use of all types of energy sources.

We were also able to honor a number of troop units and administrative offices for their outstanding energy economy. Thus, for example, with Certificates of the Council of Ministers, the units Rollinger, Vierling and Beutling of the land forces, the unit Hartung of the border troops of the GDR, and the Army Museum of the GDR in Dresden. The units Uhlig and Richter of the land forces, the formation Stetdke and the unit Thomas of the People's Navy, as well as the institutions Kruse and Salewski of the rear services were decorated with a Certificate of the Minister for National Defense.

For our own work, we have drawn conclusions such as the following and moved them into the foreground of our activity:

- the development of substantial, progressive targets aimed at the lowering of

- energy consumption,
- the rapid generalization of the best experience and the decisive struggle against energy waste,
- the broad inclusion of the problems of energy economy into socialist competition.

We are devoting a great deal of attention to scientific work, especially to the broad utilization of its results. Thus, in the case of the development of advantageous construction from the standpoint of energy economy, the use of effective energy creation and transformation installations in new buildings and in the sphere of reconstruction, as well as control mechanisms dependent on outside temperatures.

We are also doing everything necessary for the improvement of the service, working and living conditions in our heating plants and are effectively stimulating the people working there in the interest of energy economy.

I would like to direct a special appeal to the chiefs, directors and commanders, in whose spheres of responsibility new military equipment and arms are being developed and introduced. See to it that in the targets of military and economic parameters the demands of energy economy are constantly observed!

In the end result of all efforts, we must succeed in safeguarding the growing military tasks with the most rational use of energy.

[Question] Our innovators have a considerable share in the realization of these tasks. How are they included in the solution of the scientific-technical work of military construction and quartering organs, what results have been attained?

[Answer] The fulfillment of our tasks at the present time and especially in the future is unthinkable without the work of innovators and rationalization work. For this reason we have integrated them firmly in our leadership activity. Derived from the plans of scientific-technical work and as their component, we have conducted innovation affairs and socialist rationalization with increasing effectiveness. During the past training year, more than 500 plant topics were dealt with and an economic profit of more than 15 million marks was attained. The development of a so-called tear-out tooth for the loosening of rocky building ground is to be regarded as a particularly valuable achievement. This innovation resulted in a profit of more than 1 million marks during the first year. The collective of innovators, under the direction of Maj Hornung, from the troop unit Peter Laberz, was decorated for this as the best collective of innovators by the minister for national defense.

We regard the work of innovators and rationalization work as an important form of the scientific-creative activity of the members of our army and our civilian employees. It contributes importantly to the qualification and greater efficiency of our task fulfillment and is of great significance for the gaining of prominence on the part of socialist personalities in the sphere of military construction and quartering. We, therefore, devote to it our full attention, include it firmly in our political-ideological work, and direct it systematically and scientifically.

I would like to take this opportunity and sincerely thank all members of the military construction and quartering organs, the party, trade union, and FDJ-organizations for the achievements that have been attained. They contributed to the fact that in our sphere of responsibility, too, outstanding achievements are being made in the 35th Anniversary of the Founding of the GDR. For the solution of the tasks ahead, I wish all members of the army and the civilian employees of the military construction and quartering organs success and good development.

8970

CSO: 2300/607

POPULATION SEES PARTY AS CLOSED, SEPARATE COMMUNITY

Budapest PÁRTELET in Hungarian No 6, 1984 pp 77-80

[Article by Gabor Zahovay, working member of the Komárom County party committee: "Nonparty Members' Opinion of the Party"]

[Text] How do those who are not members of the MSZMP see the party and especially their local party organization? In Komárom County, talks with nonmembers about this proved that people see the processes of world politics, and the situation of the country and their smaller community, more realistically now than before.

Nonparty members generally accept the leading role of the party, agree with our policy, but on some issues they display a certain impatience and occasional dissatisfaction or obtuseness. These issues are the following: the living standard, the pricing policy, the youth policy, the women's policy, the treatment of the opposition, the small enterprises, public order and security, and the situation in the socialist countries. It also became apparent in the course of the talks that, in spite of improved information, people have many wishes for which the conditions will not exist in the near future.

There are a few social groups that are accessible for the party policy only through special efforts. These include uneducated people, those living under hard financial or family circumstances, and some elderly people. Most people considered to be indifferent are passive not so much from the aspect of work but rather that of the political forums. It is a noteworthy phenomenon that many people (mainly the elderly) make the party responsible for the social problems. They should be dealt with more decisively. Citizens compare not only our living standard and living conditions, but also our political conditions and the party's relations with the masses, with those of other countries.

The opinions of nonparty members also show that, despite problems and flaws, the county's party organizations are generally the centers of their activity. Their significance, role, effect on the environment, and recognition have improved. They are able to mobilize both party members and nonmembers for the accomplishment of the most important tasks.

It is a kind of measure of the activity of party organizations that it is apparent to the workers that the party lives and works at the work place. Almost two-thirds of nonparty members asked about this could not answer. The picture is not much better with regard to the political situation in residential areas: 87 percent could not mention anything that made the existence of local organizations in the residential district apparent. From their point of view, the party is a closed and abstract community. It also became apparent that those who are less interested in politics often identify the organization with its leaders, primarily with the party secretary.

We may conclude from all of this that it is imperative to strengthen the party's openness and concreteness. We need a policy that creates a meaningful and dynamic life, increasing trust in the party. The internal life of the local party organizations must also be more decisive in winning over the nonparty members. In the course of reports and proposals at membership meetings, more attention must be paid to the opinion of nonmembers who understand the issue well. It would be good to increase the role, first of all, of the various social and mass organizations and groups of experts, and to ask for their initiative for a better exploration of the possibilities.

Every element of the party's work must serve the explanation and acceptance of party policy as well as active identification with the party. The party organization should prepare its members for this as much as possible under local conditions. The organizational forms and methods of politics vary: they include open forums, stratum meetings, group talks. The factory papers, too, must better serve information and the political atmosphere.

Noteworthy is the indication of young nonparty members that the party does not have an adequate influence on youth. To a certain extent this is due to the fact that the forms of political work do not adequately adapt to today's requirements and to the demands of youth. There is too much cliché, formalism and campaigning. (It is also noteworthy that, according to young people, the local party organization is not always a "good team." They do not adequately recognize that it could be a real communist community even beyond formal relations.) Young people know very little about the party. Their sources are mainly the family, the workplace and the school. Their first impressions are generally subjective and, from the aspect of the requirements, exaggerated. The KISZ organizations offer very little information about the party.

The activity of young party members in the youth movement and in the community of young people is an utterly important part of party work. It is a general problem that new party members soon leave the KISZ and the youth movement. Party relations with young people are most balanced where there is a mutual familiarity with each other's work and goals, where the members and officers of the party organization are familiar with the problems of the young generation, and where the methods of establishing relations are well adapted

to the characteristics of the ages and to the local circumstances. An increased responsibility of communist teachers and parents is indispensable for educating young people for public service.

The internal circumstances and working methods of the local party organizations also affect mass relations. Nonparty members are interested mainly in those membership meetings which deal with local questions. Formalism, the lack of debates, and the disregard for facts have a negative effect. Some party members mechanically consider the material for the meetings "an internal issue of the party," without providing information to nonparty members. The local party organizations often play a praiseworthy role of initiative in effective management and in making the right decisions. It is too bad that nonparty members hardly notice this. It also happens that the party organization at the workplace is not in step with the economic management, and thus it reacts to certain phenomena after the event. This hurts its prestige.

It is mainly in the villages that the party organization's sensitivity toward questions of village policy is recognized. The local organizations often initiate social unity on various village improvements (sidewalk, sewer, supply of drinking water). The party house is not only open for party events but is also a vital and open political and social center.

Both party members and nonmembers emphasized that party officials enjoy regular and direct relations with people. It is an increasing demand that their ability of establishing good relations should be a factor in their selection.

Party work in recent times has shown an increasing concern with people's problems. Although the number of people turning to the party has decreased somewhat, the issues have become more complex. In Tatabánya as well as in other cities, the apartment question is pressing. Information, a will to help, and help according to the possibilities increases respect for and trust in the party organizations. Consequently, people's affairs must be handled with attention, understanding and consideration, even if their request must be denied.

The local organization's work affects not only most people's opinion of the party, but also their decision on whether to join the party. Nonparty members think that the main motivation for joining is identification with party policy and political/ideological conviction. However, in this area too, the detrimental effects of a few negative examples can be found. Several people think that those who join the party are not the best workers. It is very bad for the prestige of the party when the local organizations make concessions in accepting new members or when they are not consistent in enforcing the basic requirements.

Political festivities may play a role in the party's rapprochement. Most of them are appropriate to the objective. However, sometimes the festivities are not attractive enough, lacking imagination. There are too many long

speeches without emotional appeal. Not all speakers speak persuasively to the audience, their subject sometimes being unrelated to the place and time. Also, more attention should be paid to external appearances.

The surveys also show that party members generally fulfill their ideological, political and behavioral requirements, and their personalities are suitable for developing trust in the party and for strengthening ties with the masses. However, their ability as agitators is varied, of course, not all of them being able to argue effectively. We must note that nonparty members think that it is not apparent enough in political talks that the goal of party members is to convince others.

The attitude of individual party members is crucial from the viewpoint of relations with the masses. Worst is the abuse of power and trust. This is why the modesty of party members, and especially of the leaders, as well as upholding the banner of the good cause, are political issues. The local party organization should have a clear attitude and program in every significant local issue, which the communists should represent consistently.

The social and mass organizations are good comrades-in-arms in the establishment of mass relations. However, in the course of daily political work, flaws sometimes emerge. Some people are guarding the party's influence and leading role against the trade union. In some places the two organizations work side by side but without a coordinated policy, their relationship being accidental and limited to daily operational questions. The political character and commitment to the party of the trade unions is not always adequately manifest. The exchange of information is not without problems. It may happen that the attitude of the trade unions is not up to the requirements; sometimes the party organizations do not present such requirements. Awareness of the party organizations' responsibility for the activity of the trade unions does not exist everywhere.

In our county, the influence of the youth organizations, and the KISZ's membership, have increased. The guarding and representing of interests have improved. More and more young people take part in public life, and most of them are prepared to represent the interests of young people. Sometimes, however, an attractive and realistic program for the youth is lacking. In some places the weakest point of the KISZ organizations' work is precisely political education. In addition, some KISZ actions did not receive enough propaganda, and the KISZ fails to reach significant masses of young people.

Our local party organizations do not pay enough attention to a few smaller organizations (sports, Red Cross, free-time clubs, volunteer firemen, etc.), which are not unimportant from the aspect of mass relations.

The survey conducted in the county made our party organizations even more aware of the significance of mass relations. It discovered the political character and the complexity and variety of the forms and methods of this activity. The political tasks facing the party do indeed require an improvement of our work in this area as well.

PARTY AND ECONOMIC LEADERS TO SHARE DECISIONMAKING

Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 28 Jul 84 p 5

[Interview with Albert Antaloczy, first secretary of the Komarom County Party Committee; Mrs Karoly Nagy, secretary of the party committee at the Debrecen Biogal Pharmaceutical Factory; Laszlo Doka, secretary of the party leadership at the Communication Technology Cooperative; Dr Mihaly Olajos, first secretary of the MSZMP Committee, and Dr Sandor Peteri. party secretary at the Csepel Paper Factory by Jozsef Solyom; date and place not specified]

[Text] For more than two decades now our economy has been an arena for constant change. As a consequence of this development, the organization of production, the product structure, economic regulation, and the order of management have been changing in all subbranches. How does party work keep pace with all these processes in the economy?

[NEPSZABADSAG] What kind of tasks do the new management requirements place on the party organizations at the various work places?

[Peteri] Nowadays we say more often and strongly that party work must adjust flexibly to the changing conditions of our economy. I am convinced that is in fact a just demand. But the big question is how this should be done. Life is forcing us, too, to find as quickly as possible an answer to this, and our party organization is clearly urging us to change first of all the methods of party work. Because our membership meetings or our party group conferences emphasize and hammer away only at demands and requirements and general truths, this is in no way adequate for us. Not at a single plant or factory are the economic problems of a general nature; in fact, they have to solve very specific problems locally. These solutions must become even more a part of our party organizations than they are at present, and therefore it is particularly important that we should be participants in the preparatory work as well. We regard it as our most important task that we should weigh, prior to a given decision, every possible economic and political effect of the designated solution, and reckon from the beginning with how the new tasks will be received by our workers. If we clarify such consequences, we will be able to help in a timely and effective way.



[Antaloczy] I regard it as advisable in regard to this question to emphasize that from the end of 1956 all the way to today the MSZMP has striven to harmonize practice and principles. In the past 28 years, economic leadership and guidance has changed radically, and nowadays the changes have been sped up even more, and party work must always adapt to the requirements of life. I also mean here that it must adjust to the economic management system. Therefore, the practice has developed in our country that the decisions should be made where the necessary information and the factors necessary for execution are available. In accordance with their own sphere of authority, the workplace party organizations are also participants in this political work.

[Doka] This is true, but it cannot be denied that we are struggling with innumerable problems. We have no formulas for solving the present relations that are so full of contradictions, and it is not only the party organizations that do not receive ready-made proposals of solutions; neither do the economic managers or commercial circles. There are problems in every economic unit which can be solved only with the knowledge that exists locally. For example, we are a medium-sized cooperative. Our practice still differs from that of the state enterprises. The most important decisions are made at conferences of various bodies. This circumstance, of course, requires methods that differ from those of the state enterprises in order for effective help to be given to management by the party organization. The center of party life, just as that of cooperative and public life, for many years now has been economy, management, and the adaptation of new technology, and in the end this circumstance has brought results which may be judged favorably. Of course, we have plenty of our own problems. For example, we have a constant problem of acquiring parts from capitalist countries, which are frequently not even of such great value but are necessary for our most modern electronic products. For such reasons over many years we were able to fulfill our goals only with difficulty. This weighty problem compelled the professional and economic leadership and our party organization to put their heads together and search for possible solutions. Fortunately, we found these solutions, if necessary by modifying the plan or by the use of substitute parts even at the cost of overtime work. I am not saying that the results should be credited to the party alone, but it is a fact that we helped successfully.

#### We Need to Change Methods

[NEPSZABADSAG] In the foregoing the requirement was voiced that we must change working methods to achieve better, more effective party work. How would you interpret this in terms of actual tasks?

[Nagy] For example, by saying that the basic principles on which our work is built have not been questioned by any change in our life, the style of our party work has been successful, and it continuously strengthens mutual confidence between ourselves and our colleagues outside the party. Despite this, we cannot work in the economy as though nothing has occurred around us. At our workplace, for example, the right of making economic and professional decisions belongs indisputably to the managers in such positions, and it is

our job to urge them, if necessary, to make decisions, to take measures in problems that are ripe for a solution, and finally to find answers to the pressing problems affecting the collective of our workplace. It is our basic obligation to analyze the extent to which these decisions are in harmony with our social and political interests. In this respect the method has also been changed at our place: formerly we presented the annual enterprise plan for the approval of the party committee every year. Now we deal only with most important principles of management at the meetings of our bodies, and we return to these only if the enterprise management has to modify strategy as a consequence of market changes.

[Antaloczy] In my opinion, Madam Comrade Nagy has put her finger on the essence of the problem, but undeniably the rightful demand for the refinement and alteration of our methods also brings innumerable problems of another kind. We all know that the management system is by no means fully developed as yet, and we need to reckon with changes stemming from further development. The country's economic situation cannot develop in a good direction if we do not rationally solve such problems. However, we knew this already in 1968, and still in 1974 the local party leadership in more than one country undertook the redistribution of manpower under the command of necessity, or in some case it was the party itself that indicated where and how the capacities of the construction industry were to be used. Thus there was an inclination formerly, too, when problems arose, for the party to intervene in the various economic processes and in the local order of management. I mention this because nowadays we must be particularly careful to see that the party organization goes as far as it needs to go and is free to go in the determination of the task. Moreover, I emphasize this because there are some enterprises and cooperatives where the local managers are glad to see the leaders of their party organization or the county committee indicate the tasks because in this way the responsibility will not be theirs.

I know that many of us are often lured by the possibility of direct action, but in my opinion it is a serious mistake to implement power in this way. In our country, the party fulfills its leadership role clearly and successfully; this is the naturally accepted order of our lives everywhere. And at our workplaces the active participants in this historically important task are the basic party organizations. Today we have 850,000 party members in our ranks. And I shall add that everywhere--at least I hope it is so--the comradely collectives of communists have accepted the most talented and best workers. We can rightfully expect the people to hold their ground in an exemplary way both at their places of work and in their private lives. Let us not forget that we are speaking of a collective of people who consciously think together, espouse the same views, and act together. Conscious action, however, is true not only of the communists gathered in the basic organizations but of the party as a whole. True, it happens that necessity determines our actions, but hopefully in such a way that, as in the past, we will recognize in time what kind of solution will take us to our goals the most successfully and most rapidly. But successful execution really requires that we constantly adjust our methods to these tasks. However, I do not believe that this is a new concept; this is the way we always had to work, the Leninist way, and we erred when we acted otherwise.

## Not in Place of Others

[NEPSZABADSAG] Comrade Antaloczy spoke against operativeness. Is it actually a threatening practice if the workplace party organizations interfere in the solution of specific economic problems?

[Antaloczy] Fortunately, in our country this is by no means usually or frequently the case. It could, in fact, cause a host of problems in connection with various local questions, if anyone who is not competent were to make decisions or act in place of those who are competent.

[Olajos] But logically following from this, it is inconceivable that the party organizations should not deal, precisely at the work place, with the most important problem of our lives, namely more successful management. I understand that it is natural the the party organizations should not do their work in the same way and with the same methods as the economic and professional leadership. Practice in our area shows that such rational work distribution at the workplace is being implemented increasingly better. But I agree that certain methods of our practice in this work are highly debatable. For example, I regard it as a very important task that we should contribute with our political work and our own example to the development of self-activity in the units of society, because this is a regular process that we must in any event go through in the present phase of our building of socialism. Of course, we must count on the fact that this change in our lives will result in a very different operation in the various units of society, and we can already see the signs and the facts of this in the variegated nature of our economy. New, great possibilities, however, will come of this situation and we must now discover how to utilize these everywhere. It is necessary for our party organizations to mobilize scientific knowledge for this political, analytical work. It is in this way that we must learn and define our tasks, because it is in this way that they will promote the success of our common affairs. If the party organization lives together with its factory and lives in the factory in such a way that the outstanding workers are party members, and if the party's leadership and control role is implemented not by command but by political work, then--to put it frankly--I regard it as purely academic how and with what it should occupy itself, and when.

[NEPSZABADSAG] Should we understand this to mean that it is not at all a problem how the party organization participates in the solution of work-place problems?

[Olajos] Let us stay with the previous example, the construction industry. I admit that in fact it was necessary to solve various construction problems, and at the same time points of tension arose between capacities and tasks. And, in addition, there was also a problem at the time with fixed-price construction, and the guiding area party organs defined the political importance of solving a given task under such conditions. Frankly, I regard every such direct instruction and intervention as a primitive, obsolete

solution. My view comes from this: on the basis of an appropriate situation and knowledge of facts, it is possible to come to an understanding in a cultured way with every interested participant in the solution if the proposal of the party organization is in fact rational.

#### No Need for "Political" Crops

[Antaloczy] The problem is not so simple. We can take an example not only from the construction industry--as we all know, there were also such "political" crops in agriculture. Is it not true that amid the emphasis on increased independence the state farms received instructions to grow vegetables even if it was clearly unprofitable to do so? There was a period when corn was such a crop or cattle such an animal. Unfortunately, it still occurs that a state manager with competence in the question will appear and explain to us what kind of change is being planned through regulation, and how these must indirectly help in the solution of various problems. And then they ask us to intervene so that in our county, too, our farms will produce this or that kind of crop. The difference between the old situation and the new one is that in order to assure the certainty of supply we speak of these tasks with the party secretaries of some of our farms--primarily with those on the more efficient farms--and we give our reasons, but if we receive the reply that the regulation should come first and the production should be more remunerative, then we accept this argument.

[Doka] It is really not easy to decide where the boundary is in the work of the party and what problems belong clearly to the economic managers. As for the intervention, however, I believe that the answer is clear: if problems arise in a given economic unit, we must above all try to find out where the problems stem from. The party organization can do the most to see that suitable people are placed in every position of guidance for the resolution of tensions.

[Nagy] I believe that we will be well guided in all these questions if we have it well in mind that we must not try to solve our affairs individually, because we would not be capable of doing this. It should be a part of our methods, therefore, that hereafter our party organizations must be much more open than before. In recognition of this, fortunately, we already have such a good tradition: in discussing all questions where others are affected, we invite our interested colleagues outside the party who, even though they do not vote with us, can hear our arguments to present their arguments and freely express their views. To put it briefly, this method has become a practice for building mutual confidence.

[NEPSZABADSAG] The variegated nature of practice in party work has been discussed a number of times. Would it be better if the duties to be performed by the party organizations in the economy were prescribed by more exactly defined rules?

[Olajas] I believe I was the one who mentioned the variegated nature of practice that is under discussion, but I regard this not as a fault but as a result.

[Antaloczy] I believe that there are incalculable dangers latent in trying to make party work uniform.

[Peteri] That is true, but it would not be harmful if we were to receive more information than we have up to now from the guiding organs.

[Nagy] I agree with that, and I shall add: undeniably, one cannot work with the same methods everywhere but if we were to receive better information regarding favorable experiences then we, too, perhaps could make successful use of a good initiative.

#### Influence Is the Essence

[NEPSZABADSAG] Finally, one last question: recently the MSZMP Central Committee published its position on the further development of our economic management system. The internal guidance order of the enterprises will be changed accordingly, and in many places the economic managers may receive their positions by way of application. This situation will unavoidably change the practice and rights of the workplace party organizations. In this regard, what new tasks do you expect?

[Olajos] I am convinced that we have nothing to fear from the change. I said it before and I shall say it again: the party organization has to live together with its factory, and it is its duty to politicize at every forum.

Every decisionmaking mechanism is a part of this system of means, even though we call the organ for making decisions an administrative council or an elected leadership. In agreement with Mrs Nagy, I am also of the opinion that it is a rightful demand that we should be more open in every respect, but this change requires first of all that cadre work be given more publicity and dispel all mysticism about itself. The collective at a given workplace should know on whom, and why, the party organization is counting in the future to be the leader in the cadre development plan. Of course, it also depends on the person in question that he should stand the test and win the recognition of his colleagues, in other words, that he should redeem the hopes that have been pinned on him.

[Doka] I work in a cooperative where the leaders have been selected and elected in a way that will be the practice in the future in most state enterprises. Neither for our party organization nor for myself has this circumstance caused any problems up to now. Undeniably, it is easier to work with leaders who enjoy the confidence of the majority of the workers.

[Antaloczy] If you are thinking that there will be leaders who are not chosen at the recommendation of the guiding party organ in the area, my answer is that this would not be a tragedy. It has happened more than once that one of our agricultural producer cooperatives elected a chairman we did not recommend. We did not regard the decision of the cooperative as any kind of prestige loss, and as long as the elected chairman has worked for the

benefit of the collective we have supported him with all available means. This is how it will be in the future, too. I emphasize this because it is certain there will be elections that are less successfully prepared for, and some collective will chose a leader who is less effective than could have been the case. But this collective is in control, and we should not forget that when it sees blunders the party organization can only use reason. Our plicy is not to be implemented by command in this sense.

[NEPSZABADSAG] Should I understand this to mean that a policy which has only offices and seals but no influence means nothing?

[Antaloczy] That is exactly it!

6691

CSO: 2500/525

FILM DIRECTOR BACSO ON 1956, POLITICAL CHANGES

Belgrade INTERVJU in Serbo-Croatian 20 Jul 84 pp 23-26

[Interview with Peter Bacso, Hungarian film director and screenwriter, by Zdenka Acin: "The Authorities Have No Sense of Humor"; date and place not specified]

[Text] One of the most distinguished contemporary Hungarian directors and screenwriters, Peter Bacso (1928), is best known to our film lovers for his film "Crown Witness," a harsh satire and very successful piece of comedy writing about Stalinism in its Hungarian version in the late forties and fifties. It is a comically impressive exposure of the cult of the personality and of the rigged court trials against meritorious revolutionaries. Made in 1969, before the film was officially shown for the first time, it lay 11 years in the "vault." On the basis of the film Bacso then wrote a book "Krunski svedok" [Crown Witness], which will soon appear in a translation published by Narodna Knjiga of Belgrade.

His film "Electric Shock" was shown at FEST [annual festival of experimental theater in Belgrade] 1979, and last year his film "The Day Before Yesterday"--which is concerned with the period from 1947 to 1951 and has to do with the young generation enthusiastically joining in the socialist construction of the country. The plot of the film begins with the hero's participation in building the Samac--Sarajevo railroad line. Then the plot takes a turn: some of those from the voluntary labor brigade go to prison, others climb to the summits of power, and still others end up as suicides. The Stalinist trial, in Rakosi's plageristic arrangement, against Laszlo Rajk, minister of internal affairs and for a short time of foreign affairs, is that junction point that demonstrates the transition of democratic ideals into totalitarian reality....

[Question] Let us begin first with the parallel between "Crown Witness" and "The Day Before Yesterday." On one occasion you have said that by contrast with "Crown Witness"--whose story is imaginary, though based on authentic events--"The Day Before Yesterday" is entirely based on personal experience and that this is your confession....

[Answer] It is my most personal film. Every detail in the film "The Day Before Yesterday" is based on personal experience. I might say of it what Flaubert said about his work: "Madame Bovary, that's me." Just like the hero in

the film, I was also a member of people's collegiums, I was even the secretary of one collegium. I participated--as you have seen in the film--in elections with blue slips of paper. I was the one who proposed that we attack that store shown in the film. I come from an intellectual milieu, not exactly like the one in the film, but nevertheless from an exclusive intellectual milieu. "I had to compensate for many of my intellectual complexes. This film, in all its details, reflects my life.

I was in Yugoslavia in 1947 working on construction of the Samac--Sarajevo railroad. In 1949 I attended the World Youth Congress in Budapest: I experienced all that drunkenness, but I felt that something was happening behind the scenes, something horrible--later we learned that the trial of Laszlo Rajk was being prepared at that time.

Like the other characters in the film, I also have had exceptionally abundant belief in certain things. Then I became horribly disappointed. I did not become a suicide, I did not jump into the fire--like the hero in the film--but the year 1956 did not pass me by.

[Question] What was your role in that year of ferment--1956?

[Answer] As I said a while back, I belonged to the young intelligentsia which exhibited itself in the events before '56, and later we felt responsibility and the pangs of conscience. With my comrades I wanted to set things right. I wanted to revise everything that I had done in the early fifties, and naturally I participated in the upheavals in 1956 with all my soul and body. And then a horrible thing happened--I remember it quite well: on 28 October 1956 I was taking part in a protest rally in front of the Hungarian Parliament Building where--and even to this very day we cannot find out why--they began to fire machine guns into the crowd. Utter panic took over. I entered some room through the window of a ministry, and then I jumped out through another window and broke both legs. That is how I stepped out of history.

That is the way I see '56. I have to say that I was then the first person to be fired from a film studio, since on the basis of hearsay they said that I was among those who had prepared '56.... Only in 1958/59 was I allowed back into a film studio.

[Question] Judging by the film "The Day Before Yesterday," which you say is autobiographical, this is the first time that to some extent you have confronted Stalinism, precisely in the wake of a political event caused by the Yugoslav party leadership's parting of the ways with Stalin's views concerning the arrangement of the so-called socialist bloc of countries. Even at that time, while you were working on construction of the Samac--Sarajevo railroad, for which you were proclaimed an enemy in Hungary, did you suspect something of the possibilities of the distortion of ideals, the distortions which the Stalinist ideology incorporated?

[Answer] I have told you already that I come from an intellectual family: my mother was a writer, and the other members were skeptical intellectuals--but I passionately wished to believe, to drive out of myself every heretical thought,



stifling what was natural doubt. But even so I kept deep within myself some critical attitude, since I thought that these were the prejudices of an intellectual family and that I must fight against that.

[Question] Does that mean that you would have believed in Stalinist "socialism" had there not been the consequences which you experienced because of your visit to Yugoslavia?

[Answer] I feel certain that I would have lost that belief sooner or later. I remember exactly when I underwent a fundamental change, when it became clear to me that this was an outright lie. They sent me to some party school and during the 1953 elections designated me to be chief of propaganda in a district. At that time I was 25 years old. The prime minister at that time was Andrasz Hegedusz and he was the leading candidate in that district. I remember that we had a rally at the soccer field in a village. They brought the peasants together--but they were embittered, they were poor, they were hungry, and they drove us all away--including the prime minister, who was the candidate, and myself. Then I understood how embittered people were when they were ready to drive us away in spite of the regular police and the secret police. As a young man who wanted to concern himself with art, I then confronted the fact that reality is altogether different from what I had imagined.

[Question] Your film "Crown Witness" has had an interesting fate. What were the reasons for stowing the film away in the vault at one point, and what again were the preconditions for being able to show it, what happened in Hungary's social and political reality?

[Answer] The main reason why the film was not shown was the international situation. In 1969--as is stated in the film, the international situation was deteriorating; that was the time of the intervention in Czechoslovakia, and everything at that time had a somewhat greater response, a stronger resonance. Our anti-Stalinism was rather isolated in that geographic region. So, that was the main reason why the film was not shown, at least that is how I feel it to be.

And the second thing, which is unusual, has to do with esthetic reflections. Only 10 years or so had passed since '56. The wounds were still fresh, they were felt both by the victims and the executioners, and no one could put up with my speaking with humor and in a comic tone about those things. A certain time had to pass. The film was banned, but it was not immediately put in the vault, but lived a semilegal "life" and a certain number of privileged people saw it. Actually it was seen by a million viewers! Those were semilegal performances organized by officials: it was shown in party schools and similar institutions. More people saw the film in that special way than had it been shown in a movie theater. Actually I should be extremely grateful to Hungarian cultural policy, since there is no film made in 1969 which was granted such a long life. That is, now again, when my most recent film "You, Shabby Life" is shown in movie theaters, they have shown "... Witness" and the theaters were overflowing.

[Question] Does that mean that something of that film itself carried over into the comical paradoxes of its destiny? In any case I think I understand your inclination to speak about serious and tragic matters on the comical side. Speech of that kind can even be far-reaching. For example, the comedies of Aristophanes say more and speak more precisely and profoundly about Greek society than do the tragedies of, say, Euripides. Do you think that criticism sometimes uttered through laughter is more productive precisely because it leaves nothing untouched?

[Answer] I confess that I am not a theorist of art. I never decide to make a film about something, but an idea comes to me, and then it begins to work within me. It might be a comedy or a tragedy--I do not know. I am not a particular genius like Miklosz Jancso who invented an entire film language and about whom I once said that Jancso had caught God by the foot with that language, but God is not letting Jancso go either.

My talent is more modest. For each of my subjects I have to search for a style and a special film language. Of the 18 films which I have made, some have been hard, realistic and tragic, some lyrical and impressionistic stories about youth, and some of them satirical. I have a passionate love of laughter and I feel that laughter is an oxygen cylinder in man's life. And when his worries are great, when he has some big problem--then he reaches for that oxygen. I think this is a peculiarity of the Hungarian nationality. We heard the best jokes in '56. Indeed all of the greatest political upheavals are accompanied by the best jokes. What is more, in the new film which I am preparing, which takes place in 1944 and speaks about fascism and antifascism, I will attempt to show that fascists are people who have no sense of humor and who hate those who have that sense.

[Question] As for "Crown Witness," was there also perhaps some pragmatic reason why you decided on humor--in order to get past the censorship more easily!?

[Answer] No, exactly the opposite is typical of the authorities--that they have no sense of humor. They once asked me what type of person is a good leader. Then I tried to explain: the one who has professional experience, some political foundation and has a sense of humor. A minister at that time said: "Who cares what you consider good qualities for a leadership post?"

[Question] "Crown Witness" has not been shown in the Soviet Union. Is there hope that Soviet filmgoers might also see it?

[Answer] I will tell you an anecdote. They invited me along with "... Witness" to New York for a film festival in 1981. The film was seen by 3,000 people in just one showing. After the performance I talked with the audience. That was fascinating for me. They also asked me whether that film would be shown in Moscow. I found that a bit uncomfortable, but I collected my wits and said: "If in 1969, when they banned my film in Hungary, someone had told me that in 1981 I would be sitting here at a festival in New York, I probably would have told him that he was lying." When someone lives a long time, he is able to believe that everything is possible.

[Question] It is interesting that for the present only Hungarian filmmaking has dealt in the most radical way with that large and fateful subject of Stalinism. How do you interpret that?

[Answer] The conditions were quite exact: do not forget the 20th CPSU Congress, which we Hungarians took seriously. Even today we regard this as an important event and we try to prove it and draw a conclusion from what was said at that congress. I can indeed say that we Hungarians, in spite of the catastrophe of '56, are nevertheless a happy people, since precisely because of that catastrophe we were forced to settle accounts with Stalinism in Hungary. Too much blood was spilled, too many people left the country--it was impossible not to draw a conclusion from that.

[Question] Which is why you placed that epigraph at the beginning of "Crown Witness": "Anyone who does not remember history is condemned to repeat it."

[Answer] Yes, for precisely that reason.

[Question] How, then, do you explain the fact that it has mainly been the film and other arts which have concerned themselves with that important and historically decisive '56 and Stalinism in Hungary, rather than the social sciences (if I do not include those researchers who in their time had to leave Hungary)?

[Answer] I do not know. Perhaps because a film speaks about problems impressionistically. It can be said of a film, of the filmmaker, that he is a crazy artist. Probably it seemed to some people that the filmmaker worked with less responsibility. But now they have seen that a film actually has a more serious influence than 50 scholarly papers.

[Question] Does that mean that you believe that the film can take a critical attitude toward social reality just as effectively or even more effectively than science? Is that because of the way in which it communicates its truth?

[Answer] Both ways are necessary. The film primarily influences the feelings, and for that reason in the end it can never be exactly fair. If the viewer feels the characters and the idea of the film, the danger which the hero faces, then he will go with him through fire and water. We recently had a party conference of cultural workers about the problems of '56. We debated for hours, and at the end the chairman said: "We can say all sorts of things here, but the viewer who has seen Bacso's films, he will believe Bacso."

The impulsive truth of a film is different from the truth of a scholarly paper. That does not, of course, mean that children ought not to be told the truth right in the schools. The film cannot make up for that. After all, take my daughter, who is 12, some time ago they took her to see "... Witness." And since she did not have a historical preknowledge of that time, after the film was shown I had to tell her what that film was about. What I mean is that children will never understand what has happened without scientific truth and upbringing in the schools, since 30 years have already passed.

[Question] Speaking about the historical dimension of that time and that event, do you feel that it is important not only to demystify, but also to speak about the present through them?

[Answer] I completely agree with you. We do all of this for the sake of the present. So that something like that will not happen again. Since some of the structures of the past are nevertheless still living today--we have no institutional guarantee that the past will not happen again. That is why we should constantly talk about that past. It is no accident that the Catholic Church created the habit of enacting the Passion every year--a religious drama which reenacts Christ's crucifixion.

I think that with us Stalinism was at the least a problem great enough so that that scene should always be acted out once again so that it remains alive in people's feelings and is remembered.

[Question] Does that mean using history to some extent as Aesopian language: we talk about what cannot be mentioned today with the help of history? Are there any recurrences of Stalinism which are visible even today in Hungary?

[Answer] You know, I do not believe in Aesopian language.. I think things should be called by their names, even though there have been parablistic attempts and such works, but the public is often confused, since it does not have the key to decode that Aesopian language.

I think that Stalinism is not in fact merely a historical phenomenon, but also a psychological and political phenomenon which has its constants. I have attended showings of my films in New York, Paris and other cities in the West where the viewers knew little about Stalinism, but they had an idea about dictatorship, about tyranny. I believe that this is human nature: when a man manages to get power, he has more love for dictatorship than democracy. When people get power, they also acquire an improbable desire to abuse that power. That is why those who hold power are readier to accept dictatorship than a sincere conversation with people, and in particular they will not allow themselves to be outvoted. I therefore feel that Stalinism is a psychological phenomenon.

[Question] You mentioned a party conference of cultural workers which discussed '56. How much in Hungary is art truly independent of politics, especially of "day-to-day political interests"?...

[Answer] I must say that there are no principles which have been engraved in stone. I think we are fortunate that cultural policy is now formulated by intelligent people who desire some authentic results. Of course, I am not saying that everything is ideal in Hungary--that the relationship between art and cultural policy is beyond reproach. Very acute conflicts break out frequently, but still there is mutual tolerance, which was not the case before. And when something is created, then that creation begins to fight for its place in Hungarian culture. Here is just one example. I am the director of a film studio in Hungary and I have had great troubles making it possible for a young director to direct his own film. I spent weeks and months trying to persuade those

in authority, and I put my entire reputation on the line in that debate. Finally, I said: "I take all the responsibility upon myself." And Xanthus Janosz made the film "Mrs Eskimo Is Asleep." They were not exactly overjoyed with that film, but when they invited it to be shown in Cannes, no one objected.... The film had a huge success at the Cannes Festival, and after that Hungarian cultural policy began to be proud of that film.

[Question] The Yugoslav public has had occasion to see brilliant films by Hungarian filmmakers: to mention only the most distinguished, Istvan Szabo, Peter Gotar, Zoltan Fabri, Miklosz Jancso, Marte Mesarosz, Andrasz Kovacs, Karolj Mak, and so on. However, how would you outline the situation of the Hungarian film at this moment?

[Answer] The filmmakers you have mentioned made films in the studio where I am the director. That is my generation and the generation which came immediately after me. Only Gotar is someone new. I think that we can preserve the prestige of the Hungarian film in the world. But the problem is how we will put together a team of the new generation similar to that in basketball, which changes during the game itself and which will be able to successfully replace the present team. Even last year those great names made films in my studio: Mak, Kovacs and Fabri. This year, in '84, I decided to show confidence in young people. Even I do not make films any longer in my own studio.

[Question] As far as I know, that studio is called "Dialogue." Does that have some symbolic meaning?

[Answer] Yes, it has, certainly it does. First, we will not make monologue films. We desire contact with the public. When I was recently asked about the artistic conception of the studio I head, I answered: for our films to be seen, for the public to accept them!

[Question] You once said that the public in Hungary no longer has an ear for so-called political films. What is it interested in, then, and how do Hungarian filmmakers pursue the "artistic conception" you have mentioned?

[Answer] To a certain and definite extent one can speak about lost illusions. We have said a lot intending to change the world. The results of that are only in the film, they do not exist in reality or they exist to a far lesser extent. Along with the social changes, then, ever greater attention is being paid to the life of the individual. The film is also beginning to concern itself with these subjects. Andrasz Kovacs, creator of the most ideological films in Hungary, recently made a film entitled "The Lovers," which is about the love of a woman in her thirties. And the film has had an enormous success with the public.

[Question] One gets the impression that you also place the individual ahead of the collective.

[Answer] No, but rather it means that within the collectivity I recognize the capabilities of the individual. After all, the collective itself consists of individuals. I have never heard of collective happiness--except in the newspapers. It is as an individual that a man is happy.

[Question] But when it comes to a committed art, there are points of view which hold that commitment is damaging to artistic quality. What do you think about that?

[Answer] There are many conceptions of commitment which are not correct, which are false, one might even say that there is quite a bit of obfuscation here. Back in the fifties and indeed the beginning of the sixties commitment meant a man's effort to work for certain goals and ideas. I feel that I am committed, but in the sense that I am revolted by inhuman actions and phenomena. I consider myself to be progressive and open to the troubles in the world. Every day I hear the news and I cannot go to sleep without hearing it. But today I see things differently than I saw them 20 years ago. Now I can set up my own personal individual opinion against the opinion of the majority and the opinion of authority. And I feel that I am committed, but not those who are against me--those who are on the other side.

[Question] Is that evidence that in Hungary the conditions have really been brought about for a critical and democratic dialogue?

[Answer] I feel that the conditions do exist, and I am fighting for that dialogue.

[Question] You did not answer my question about whether commitment was detrimental to artistic quality.

[Answer] No. I think it is not detrimental at all. If we are speaking about commitment to great ideas, to great conceptions, then it helps to raise the artistic level higher. I think that commitment is a moral category, and artistic value and moral value nevertheless have a more complicated and more intimate relationship.

[Question] Let us go back again to your comrades, and tell me, please, which writer and editor, first Hungarian and then in general, is the closest to your own artistic sensibility?

[Answer] Mak, Karolj Mak. I feel that Karolj Mak is potentially the greatest Hungarian director. I have written many screenplays for Mak's films, including the most recent one, which is a Hungarian-American coproduction. Up to this very day we have remained in very good comradely relations. Just as one is apt to say a born soccer player, so it can be said of Mak: in all his work, whenever he dribbles, the ball always goes toward the net.

[Question] The collaboration between you and Mak as director and screenwriter is only one aspect of creative accord, but is there also agreement or at least proximity with respect to fundamental commitment? I have in mind that Mak, in a series of excellent films, also made "A Night of Chastity in a Brothel" and "Embraced Views," films in which particular expression is given to what I like to refer to as his obsession with freedom in human existence, a freedom which does not give in to compromises....

[Answer] Mak and I are very similar, and that also goes for Peter Sas, who unfortunately has died. They are my generation. We--Mak, Sas and I--were interested, so to speak, perhaps it will even seem a bit banal, in an idea of the film which would shed light on it as a whole. Mak and I--each in his own way--we never begin to make a film until we find a focus which sheds light on the entire film--both all its details and the whole. But within scenes we highly prize what are called gags. We pay attention to tiny things, which are very essential.

[Question] Have you been influenced by the filmmaking of any other country?

[Answer] Yes, when I was young I saw many films of Italian neorealism--that was the first Western wave which reached us. Later, in the sixties, the French New Wave influenced me, Godard ("Breathless") and Truffaut particularly, and then the Czech school with Forman, Mancel and others.

[Question] Finally, in view of your considerable opus in the film, could you state briefly what it is that imbues your entire work?

[Answer] I think that my humorous attitude toward the world is what will be left as my signature. That is what I am known for in the Hungarian film. With it, of course, I have continued a certain tradition in Hungarian filmmaking art. It was not my wish to play the role of a great artist.

Yet if I have to sum up the thought which has run through all of my films, I would say that it is rebellion, and that a rebellion against all determinations. The search for opportunities so that man is not an extra, but can speak, if not about the life of others, at least about the things of his own life.

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CONTINUING DEBATE OVER STEPHEN THE KING ROCK OPERA

Watershed of Recent History?

Budapest MAGYAR NEMZET in Hungarian 30 Jun 84 p 5

[Article by Jovanovics: "Stephen, the Turning Point]

[Text] There is some truth in every exaggeration, and every truth can be exaggerated. This is the lesson to be learned, to which we will arrive at the end of this writing, after briefly analyzing the interview on the subject of "Stephen the King," appearing in issue No 5 of ÉLETÜNK.

There is a discussion about the rock opera between Mihály Sárdi and Kornél Bakay who, "as an archeologist, historian and teacher," defends with characteristic logic the production that was very successful to begin with. For him the new rock opera is a "turning point" in the development of national consciousness and a peak in Hungarian music history, including the works of the classic composers.

Well, I beg you, all of this is a question of conviction and taste. It could be debated. The trouble is that the interviewee demands total and strict agreement with his own views, ruthlessly sending those with differing opinions to the stake.

What do we actually have to agree with at all cost? With the following:

1. "I think the greatest significance of this production, i.e., the entire huge undertaking, is that for the first time in a very long time it has had an effect on today's man." Question: should we, in the interest of enthusiasm, retrospectively eliminate every other production, undertaking and work produced over decades?
2. "We arrived at a time when, following the elimination of history as part of the final high school examination, our entire past almost went down the drain ... According to a false principle, ... we eliminated almost all ties and bonds, and all possibilities for bonds necessary for the maintenance (i.e., now the resurrection) of a healthy and national consciousness." Aside from the vague matter of examining bonds, is crying over the



disappearance of national consciousness not an exaggeration, is it not a luxury to feel sorry for ourselves only to prove the historically redeeming role of a historical rock opera? Incidentally, relative to what has national consciousness fallen in the grave? According to Kornél Bakay's statement, the decline began somewhere in the 1950's. Should we reply to an exaggeration with another exaggeration? Should we recall the 1941 description of Prime Minister Pál Teleki, namely, that we had become body-snatchers and Europe's last nation? Or Béla Bartók, who wrote in his letter dated 9 October 1938: "... You cannot imagine...how much the rapture for him (Hitler) has grown in our country." It was Bartók again who put it on paper on 13 April 1938: "... Unfortunately, 'educated' Christian people are devoted almost exclusively to the Nazi regime: I am really ashamed that I belong to this class." Should we begin here with our introspection? Or should we begin with the so-called 1950's or perhaps at the elimination of the history examination? Do we have to mount the horse in order to fall down on the other side?

3. "It was not accidental when I said that perhaps this work is a turning point. This rock opera, too, proved the opinion of great composers and experts, namely, that there is really no light or serious music, there is only good and bad music. Not being too enthusiastic -- let's face it -- about the so-called light music, I still do not think this music has any less value than classical music ... I think this work puts Levente Szőrényi and János Bródy among the best Hungarian composers."

We are not debating the values and effects of "Stephen the King." We only want to be careful with exaggerations. For indeed there is fashionable popular music on the one hand, and classical music on the other. Both can be good or bad in their own way. Liszt, Erkel, Bartók and Kodály belonged to a different category than the composers of the rock opera mentioned.

History and art is a more complex phenomenon than the interviewee of ELETUNK thinks. But it can be learned.

#### Toward Healthy National Awareness?

Budapest MAGYAR HÍRLAP in Hungarian 19 Jul 84 p 6

[Article by Miklós Zelei: "Stephen the Rock King"]

[Text] "Stephen the King," the rock opera of Levente Szőrényi and János Bródy, will be included in the program of the open-air theater on Szeged's Dome Square. There have been many, many debates in the press about this work. I do not want to write about it as a musical production, for I am not an expert, nor as a theatrical production, for I am not an expert in that, either, and I do not have ambitions to be a film critic. But perhaps I, too, as a listener, may speak not so much about how I relate to this distinguished work of art as about the waves it caused on the sea of the press.

It would be cheap to joke about the fact that this genre reached us relatively late. The oil crisis managed to arrive faster. Let us rejoice that we also have this now. To quote the related lines of Domokos Szilágyi, "Undoubtedly, your song is wanted! You are a singer because you sing, and you sing because you are a singer, you are a spiritual cabinet-maker, working on the inside of the superstructure." Yes, but how and in what way?

If I now write the tricky abbreviation CNS here, the reader will not know, I am sure, what it means, although it is simple. The reader has seen it as often as, say, the slogan. "Smoke Symphonia Cigarettes" or "It Is Your Way: the Savings Cooperative Is the Way." But another magic word also wants to be included, namely, the HHC, i.e., Healthy Hungarian Consciousness. The other one is: Correct National Self-knowledge.

These key words are found every day, on almost every page of every paper and periodical.

Are they really key words?

Do we still know what they mean, or rather in what direction they develop and change? What is their meaning? Which ones that had to be dropped have been dropped? And what is the extra meaning that they should not have?

Are these still really key words or Jolly Jokers to be used by every one who presents his own opinion to the public (that is, creates a conflict)?

Are these still really key words or the weapons of debates over details? Are these a kind of divine grace asked for by both parties fighting one another, from the same Superior Being (for there is only one God!)?

And really, we do not even realize that the times in which we failed to learn thoroughly the system of bonds in the fabric of our togetherness were the ones that already saw the words written by János Pilinszky: "The time may come when the foundation of human togetherness will be something other than the nation."

And why do I recall all of this in connection with the publications concerning the rock opera? Because I realized that the production became one of the central issues of the CNS and the HHC. It was evaluated from all possible aspects: from that of cultural policy, politics, history, society, and even of youth policy.

However there is only one really important thing, namely, how good the rock opera is -- as entertainment. If it is good, then it could very well be that the Magyars came to the Carpathian Basin from southern France, i.e., Stephen the Rock King will be good on the stage. God forbid, it might even relay the values of correct national self-knowledge and healthy Hungarian consciousness.

Well now! What a whirlwind in that consciousness there would be! I can already see it before me: the storm of letters by précieux, mothers, teachers of history and physical education, poets in national costumes, janitors, etc.; the Hungarian state pays royalties to these people, who do not even know that it was through the Verecke Pass that Father Árpád led us here. Must even this be falsified now? Shame on them! Disgusting! Is this what is being "taught" to young people? Or another variant: "True, my dear grandfather immigrated from France but I do not know why I am still reproached for this in socialist Hungary, especially since he was a worker using his two hands in honorably earning his bread. I do not understand why our most sacred family tradition must be ridiculed in front of the whole world. I will sue."

The sequence of the reactions would be something like this. We cannot play? We cannot, at least not with symbols. Here in East Europe, the pain of every fillip is magnified 20 times in the national psyche. Is this bad? Yes, it is. It means that this psyche had been greatly injured. (Not only ours. We also have been both injurers and injured...) And it also means that we still cannot free our present thinking from those injuries. They hang on us like clogs, pulling us down when we want to jump -- or "just" to think. (Truly, the great nations have other concerns than their symbols. Let us imagine a bank clerk in London or a butcher in Paris as they feel that their consciousness of nationality is being transfigured or ruffled by a theatrical production. They probably feel that this or that author may alternately transfigure or ruffle while they nation prospers. Or, if not, it is not because of the authors.)

For if we cannot play, then the thing will not go backwards, either. We have a toy car, for example; true, it has a flywheel but it is excellent, and we want to start with it at the 1500-cc rally. (In plain talk: if Stephen is a saint, the opera about him does not have to be.)

I read lines about this pleasant opera that expect no less from it than to make the nation finally able to face its past... Holy Moses! It is as if I would raise the question, in possession of an entire historical/scientific apparatus (which is, unfortunately, not the case), of how the menu of the Café King Matthias (if such a café exists) promotes the further clarification of our correct picture of Matthias. Please do not smile. It can be done. If, let us suppose, our distinguished ruler was not only just but also abstinent, then the menu would list only authentic juices and refreshments of that time. If he indulged himself from time to time in alcoholic beverages, then the list would include not only lemonade but also those drinks...The idea is very appropriate for the times, it fits the wave of nostalgia, and it even makes up for some deficiencies in the teaching of history. But this is a noble goal, is it not? And not frivolous on-stage cavorting.

In recent times the script has often been analyzed almost as a historical drama, with the fact that music, dance and melody have a joint effect in

such a production conveniently forgotten. It is a big plus that it speaks in the language of rock, which is the language of youth, that is, this is what will arouse youth's interest in history. (This interest has already been aroused, but it is turned not so much toward the Stone Age or the conquest as toward our century, our semidistant past and recent past.)

I did not want to hurt Stephen the rock king. The only reason why I did not suppress my thoughts is that, as John Stuart Mill writes, "what is bad in silencing opinions is that mankind as a whole will be shortchanged, including those with a different opinion." And, to be sure, there are more than a few of them.

But I think that those who feel that this pleasant rock opera can, as a genre (slightly belated in reaching Hungary), solve some of the issues of national consciousness or self-knowledge are wrong.

There is no doubt that, at least for me, production has surprisingly occupied a central position in this issue, but, I think, not because it solved anything but because there is vacuum in that central point, and this vacuum is willing to suck everything possible to the center.

That is, I hope that this summer, this nice summer of open air, will not give birth to Stephen the Joker or a mouse, but to what can be expected of the musical stage: a musical stage work.

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CSO: 2500/498

POLAND

JABLONSKI ADDRESSES FOREIGN GUESTS, DIPLOMATS

AU261321 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 23 Jul 84 p 2

[Speech by State Council Chairman Henryk Jablonski at a meeting with heads of foreign delegations and the diplomatic corps at the Palace of the Council of Ministers in Warsaw on 22 July]

[Text] Greatly Esteemed Comrade Chairman! [of the Council of Ministers] Mr Dean! [of the diplomatic corps] Thank you most sincerely for the warm words addressed to the Polish nation and PPR authorities. We will always retain them in grateful memory.

I beg all the foreign delegations to accept my sincere thanks for coming to our anniversary celebrations and taking part in today's meeting. We see this as a demonstration of the friendship you bear toward Poland and the Poles.

I warmly welcome the heads of the diplomatic representations accredited in Warsaw.

Today you are celebrating with us, esteemed guests, the 40th anniversary of the rebirth of Polish statehood in a new, people's shape. It is an important anniversary, for 22 July 1944 was a turning point in the latest history of Poland, though at that time only a fragment of Polish territory was liberated and there were still long months of hard battles to go before the end of the war. But the Manifesto of the Polish Committee of National Liberation which was published on that day announced that the decisive phase of implementing the keenest desires of the Polish people was commencing. It announced that their state was becoming a fact.

We did not get this state for nothing. Poles fought unswervingly in their own country and in all the fronts of World War II, not sparing the heaviest sacrifices. This was a battle for their own independence, but at the same time it was waged with a full knowledge that it was being fought in the interests of all mankind against the greatest enemy of the day--Hitlerite barbarism. It was therefore a continuation of the great Polish tradition whose expression was the motto written on the standards of generations of Polish patriots: "For your freedom and ours." It is from these ideological sources that our own contribution toward the victory of the broad antifascist coalition, of which we were an integral part, arose.

The greatest burden in this war was borne, the greatest losses suffered, and the greatest role played by the Soviet Union, whose heroic Red Army left over 600,000 soldiers' graves on Polish territory alone. We also fully appreciate the importance of the human and material contribution toward victory by the countries of the British Commonwealth and the United States. However, let me recall just the fact that the size of the Polish war effort was second only to the armies of the above three powers.

This fact has justified Poland's place among the founder--nations of the United Nations Organizations, which was established--and I quote--"to protect future generations from the calamity of war which has caused mankind uncalled-for suffering twice in our lifetimes; restore faith in basic human rights, the honor and value of the individual, and equal rights for men and women and for nations great and small; permit the maintenance of justice and a respect for commitments stemming from international agreements and other sources of international law; and support social progress and an improvement in living conditions toward greater freedom."

The words of the July Manifesto conformed to these goals: "Polish foreign policy will be a democratic policy based on the principles of collective security." The goals proclaimed in the manifesto and adopted in the UN Charter were and still are the basic guideline for our activity on the international forum.

A summary of 40 years of foreign policy by People's Poland consists of ceaseless work for the sake of peace--in the United Nations and its organizations and military detachments. This is Poland's contribution toward the process of decolonization and toward nations' struggle against neocolonialism, racism and imperialism, and also a sign of our solidarity and mutually advantageous cooperation with countries that have recently embarked upon the road to an independent existence. This is Poland's contribution toward the protection of nations' rights to a sovereign existence and toward detente and general security.

We were the joint initiators of CSCE. Polish initiatives concerning the creation of a nuclear-free zone in central Europe and a freeze on nuclear weapons in this region are a permanent sign of our deep involvement in mankind's most important cause.

And today we are present at all forums and all initiatives aimed at leaving aside confrontation and halting the arms race so that equal cooperation free from restrictions may be restored between nations and so that there may be a return to detente and peaceful coexistence between nations, regardless of their political and social system.

For today's conditions, marked not only by an inconceivable amassing of mass-destruction weapons on our planet, especially in Europe, but also by a dangerous plan to transfer the arms race to space, represent a need more urgent and greater than ever before to combine the efforts of all states in order to guarantee peace and the right to live--the basic right of man.

Ladies and Gentlemen! Forty years is certainly not a long time for a nation with over 1,000 years of statehood, but it is an important period when one considers the size of the transformations achieved in the country and society.

We have returned to the old Piast [a dynasty of medieval kings] territories for good. We have created a homogeneous state. For the first time in its history Poland has peaceful borders because we are surrounded by friends and allies. For the profound common sense of the Polish left wing and of all democratic forces has led to a fundamental turnabouts in our relations with our neighbors, especially with the Soviet Union, toward which the turnabout was achieved still during the war.

Forty years ago, the July Manifesto said: "Friendship and combat cooperation, initiated by the brotherhood-in-arms between the Polish Army and Red Army, should change into a permanent alliance and fraternal joint activity after the war." The implementation of this goal is the great joint achievement by our countries, an achievement which serves their interests as fully as possible. Our entire postwar history has proved this, and the latest period has confirmed it particularly strongly.

Our allied ties with the USSR and other socialist states and our joint membership of the defensive Warsaw Pact are at the same time an essential feature of European security, as well as a prerequisite for the effectiveness of our activity for the sake of peace in Europe and the world.

We have achieved significant domestic transformations. The right to work for workers, the right to own land for peasants, the right to education for young people, broad social rights for all of society established by People's Poland during the 40 years of its existence--all these features can only be fully appreciated when one remembers how we started out. And this is how we started out: With economic backwardness, industrial underdevelopment, anachronistic agriculture, urban unemployment, rural overpopulation, low-level education, and added to all this enormous war damage and unprecedented bloodshed by society.

The following have been stages in this difficult work, demanding great effort from the entire nation, to give Poland a new shape: agricultural reform, the reconstruction and nationalization of industry, the rebuilding of cities and villages, general education, industrialization and modernization of the economy; and a new organization of the life of the nation based on the principles of social justice. This permanent process of transforming the country in order for it to serve the interests of the state and its citizens the best possible way has brought historic results. This fact remains absolutely indisputable, even though we did not avoid serious errors which caused considerable economic and social complications. But the proof of our internal strength, formed during the socialist reconstruction, is the fact that we have carried out the fullest possible analysis of the errors we made, clearly revealed the sources of the errors, and worked out a repair and development program at the Ninth Extraordinary PZPR Congress. Despite the great difficulties we encountered, we have been able to bring the situation under control--as General Jaruzelski said yesterday--and now we are consistently implementing the renewal principles adopted at the congress, strengthening and developing the institutions of socialist democracy, and undertaking important economic reform.

There is still a lot of hard work ahead of us, all the harder because our economy is still burdened with the restrictions imposed on us by some countries. But the results of our labor are already visible. The life of the country is normalizing in all spheres and confidence in the policy of the state authorities is growing. The firm majority of society desires national accord for the good of everyone, desires the continuation of the socioeconomic reforms, and desires order and calm. An expression of these desires were the recent elections to the people's council, an important component of our system of authority which has been strengthened by the law which has come in force recently.

In this situation and to mark the 40th anniversary of People's Poland, our Sejm, guided by the principles of socialist humanitarianism, has approved a broad amnesty for citizens who committed crimes out of political motives and less dangerous common crimes and offenses. In this way we wish to make it possible for them to actively participate once again in the life of the country. It is now up to them whether they will take advantage of this great chance.

Esteemed gathering! We are [word indistinct] up right now the past 40 years, aware of socialist Poland's great achievements, as well as of the desires and hopes that have not been fulfilled yet.

However, such a review of the past, which expresses the feeling of responsibility shared by the joint creators of the new Poland, is not enough for a society most of which was born after the announcement of the historic Manifesto of the Polish Committee of National Liberation. For we should give this society not only an assessment of the road along which we have come, but also point out the future road resulting from our experiences. For our experiences show that the words of the Manifesto that said of the great goals that "these tasks cannot be performed without national unity" remain valid. By "national unity" it was not meant at that time and is still not meant today that some kind of unfeasible homogeneity should be imposed on society and the slightest trace of differences eliminated, but that forces should be united in order to settle matters of supreme importance to citizens and the state. It is this kind of unity toward which Polish patriots from all social groups and generations are aiming today, and the Patriotic Movement for National Rebirth is a special expression of this unity.

We would like to transfer this interpretation of unity into the sphere of international relations. Peoples in various countries are different from one another, their states possess various political and social systems, and many things divide them, but they all have interests in common. Just as they possess a common home and common planet, so too should the most important right of their citizens--the right to live--be common. Therefore we will ceaselessly call on all states and nations and all people of good will to do together with us everything possible so that the idea of universal peace emerges victorious on our entire globe. This is an essential condition for the further successful development of Poland and your countries.

That is why, while thanking you for your wishes, esteemed gathering, I wish to propose a toast to accord between all states for the sake of peace and constructive cooperation between nations.



JABLONSKI ADDRESSES LUBLIN ON 40TH ANNIVERSARY

AU271534 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 24 Jul 84 p 2

[Speech by Henryk Jablonski, State Council chairman, after presenting the town of Lublin with an award at the Juliusz Osterwa Theater on [word indistinct] in the genesis of the 40-year old republic]

[Text] Esteemed Assembly!

The heroic World War II history of this region and its main town, Lublin, is commonly known in the entire country. The older generation has it etched into its memory and both the young and the youngest know about it from school and popular literature, diaries, and other information that has been passed down to them. There are not many Polish regions that so strongly connote the memories of the persistent battles against the Nazi barbarians that claimed heavy losses although, after all, our entire nation took part in that great struggle for its own liberation and human dignity. This was said by the republic's authorities, who conferred the Order of the Builders of People's Poland on Lublin Voivodship and the Class I Grunwald Cross on the town of Lublin. Many of the region's localities were also honored with great military decorations.

And again we meet to honor Lublin's contribution by, naturally, presenting an award, although a different one from those already mentioned because, in accordance with the basic and generally accepted practice of conferring awards, a specific award can be conferred by the state authorities only once. What, then, is the reason for our gathering here today, the day after the ceremonious celebrations of our National Day?

During these celebrations, we assessed the road we have traversed, reaching back to the genesis of our people's statehood [panstwowosc], summing up its 40-year span of achievements, registering the needs that still have not been implemented, and considering the aims of our further activities. We did this on a nationwide and local scale, sincerely and openly, in the spirit of the Ninth PZPR Congress, making no secret of our failures and errors, while we were also proud of our nation, which in the space of a mere 40 years has accomplished work that is comparable only to the most splendid periods of our many-centuries-long history.

It was not by any chance or some kind of unexpected coincidence but by a program of basic political, economic, and social changes conceived by the Polish workers' left wing that allowed the entire nation's energy to be led onto the road of progress and development.

The origins of the Manifesto of the Polish Committee for National Liberation [PKWN] reach back far because they stem from the unceasing efforts of Polish patriots that did not abate since the partitions [of the 18th century] and aimed at regaining independence and the struggles of the popular masses for their social liberation, which gained particular force and significance as the proletarian movement became politically consolidated.

Lublin and the Lublin region has several times contributed to this tradition, one that has been inscribed in the national memory. It is, after all, with this region that the following names were connected in the 19th century: Henryk Kamiński, Edward Dembowski, Piotr Ściegienny, Leon Frankowski, Michał Heidenreich-Kruk, and many, many other fighters for the nation's freedom. And when the new era began and the socialist workers movement stepped onto the historical arena, Lublin was not left on the sidelines, although industry was not, after all, as developed here as it was in Warsaw, Łódź, or the Dąbrowa Basin, so that the workers class there was not a numerous one. Despite this, however, circles of the Polish Socialist Party [PPS] already began to be set up here at the turn of the century, and a congress of this party was held in Lublin in 1902. It was not long after that the Social Democratic Party of the Kingdom of Poland and Lithuania [SDKPiL] began its activities here.

Lublin also participated in the revolution as one of the more active centers, a telling testimony of which was the strike organized on 31 January 1905 and the further strikes that followed it, the demonstrations, and the various kinds of protests that took place in the entire town of Lublin and its regions.

During the postrevolutionary years, the workers movement in Lublin did not die out, but rather took on other forms that bore many fruits. It achieved important results in the field of education and then gained a leading position in the workers' cooperative movement, which became especially obvious in the early years of the Second Republic. It is also worth adding as an illustration of this, although it diverges from the chronological course of events, that one of the main founders of the Warsaw Housing Cooperative--Bolesław Bierut, of whom the city was so proud--was the ideological pupil of Jan Hempel, the most outstanding Lublin educational activist of the PPS left wing and later a member of the Communist Party of Poland [KPP].

The period of the rebirth of the Polish State in November 1918 cannot be examined without considering the particular role that Lublin played, due to two events of great significance.

On the night of 6-7 November, the Provisional People's Government of the Polish Republic was created under the leadership of Ignacy Daszyński. It lasted for barely several days and was rightly criticized then for the reformism it pursued that was typical of the right-wing faction of the socialist movement and peasant parties. But despite this, its significance cannot be discounted as it was the first government in many years that had not been formed by the partition

authorities, the invading forces, or the Polish Regency Council [of 1917], but by Polish political groupings. Second, it announced many important democratic reforms, and although it made their implementation dependent on wishes of the future Sejm, the very fact that they were raised was of great and indisputable importance.

At the same time, the Council of Workers' Delegates emerged in Lublin, the first such council in Poland and the originator of the organization of the independent representation of the proletariat's interests, which was led by the revolutionary leftwing.

And although the People's Provisional Government survived for barely a few days, and the movement of the workers' councils was crushed after several months, one cannot question the important role played by Lublin in the history of Poland's nascent statehood.

Lublin remained faithful to that tradition during the Second Republic and, like the whole of its voivodship, it did not belong to the privileged centers. I would also, by way of example, like to remind you of the material standard of living of the citizens of this town which was the first, though short-lived, capital of an independent Poland, and this is worth doing so as to get a better picture of the point we have now reached, the road we have traversed, and what has been achieved.

And although people are not fond of figures in speeches, this time it is essential to cite them, because nothing can better illustrate what has been and what is. According to the records for 1931, Lublin had 112,300 residents and 4,700 houses; therefore, it was not, for those times, a small center, but according to the statistical yearbook, what distinguished it in a special way from the 13 big cities was the relatively small number of electrified buildings, because it had barely 35.6 percent. Let us also add that 8.2 percent of them had a sewage system, 18.4 percent had water mains, and 4.5 percent had gas mains. It is true that the smaller houses were bereft of any of these installations, but a total of 33.3 percent of the residents lived in the worst conditions without any kind of domestic installations. Only Wilno, among Poland's large towns, was in general in a somewhat worse situation, although 39.4 percent of its buildings and thus more than in Lublin, had electricity.

And it was such a deprived town that managed to attain a social, educational, and cultural life, and a highly developed workers' movement, as well as vital and radical youth organizations. It was, therefore, cut out for the role it played in World War II as one of the most important centers of resistance and struggle with the invading forces.

There must surely have been many factors contributing to the fact that various forms of struggle developed so strongly in the Lublin region, from clandestine teaching to armed partisan warfare. It was also true that this struggle was aided by people who came from outside this region, but the main base for fighters was, after all, within the town and it was here that all liberation activities found support. Lublin and the Lublin region, just as in the past, made a valuable contribution to the history of the fighting people at the cost of heavy losses and sacrifices.

And when the heroic Red Army and the Polish Armed Forces that fought at its side brought freedom to the first piece of our land, Lublin once more--after the short Chelm episode--became the capital. It was here, in Lublin, that Polish statehood was being born again in a new people's form.

It is from this that the PKWN and later the Provisional Government extended its rule on the regions that were gradually being liberated as the battlefield advanced, and it was here that the great transformation of the country's socioeconomic structure began with a decree on agricultural reform, and here that the origins of the new Polish administration, higher education system, and judicial system emerged.

Even the language used by the political opponents of the authorities who governed here paid unintended tribute to your town by saying: "The Lublin government" or "Lublin Poland." This was intended to sound scornful and insulting, but in reality it meant that it was, after all, here that the new Poland, a state of social justice, was being born, that it was from here that the stimuli for the rebirth and reconstruction of all the fields of the war-ravaged country were spreading.

However, our picture of the events that took place then would not be true if no mention were made of the fact that this did not go easily, that it did not take place without any difficulties, struggle, or loss of life. There was no shortage of class-based enemies of the reborn statehood or of those they duped with pseudopatriotic phrases on this land. A few years ago, a well-known writer thought up the following term for this period: "the quiet revolution." His intentions were undoubtedly good, because he was, after all, concerned with presenting the new authorities' attitude to society in the correct light, but the opponents of this revolution did not use "quiet" methods, and by their actions they forced us to effectively defend everything that meant pulling the country out of the ruins and creating new and higher standards of national existence.

The workers class stood on the side of the people's authorities, a class that was not large in this region, but one that was stalwart in its long battles, as well as aware of its own social interests together with those of the majority of the peasants and the progressive factions of the intelligentsia. These social groups undertook the hard work of renewal and construction, in accordance with the recommendations of the authorities, and the results they achieved convinced those who were wavering, drew in the doubting, and weakened the chances for enemy activities. And Lublin and the Lublin region were followed by other regions of the country.

Poland was being reborn as not only a state body, but also in another, grander sense of this word: the nation's strength was being reborn despite the great human losses brought by the war and the barbarian occupation, and the social energy of the masses which was now being channeled into creating new material and spiritual values was also being reborn.

Poland was raised from the ruins and its destruction, and urbanization and industrialization was introduced so as to eliminate the overpopulation of the rural areas and unemployment in the towns. The "forest of chimneys" that proletarian writers once dreamed about became a fact. Education and schooling at all levels was developed at a pace that astonished both our friends and our opponents, and solid foundations were laid down for the comprehensive development of culture.

Today's Lublin of 350,000 people is a different place from the one I spoke of in my introduction, because it is the biggest industrial, scientific, and culture-creating center in eastern Poland.

It is not my place to teach you about the changes that have taken place, because you know about them better than anyone else. But perhaps it is worth reminding you of one figure--the fact that the total production of Lublin's industry is thirty times greater than what it was before the war. Compare this to the figures and percentages I gave you earlier about the prewar situation.

And what about the living conditions of this town's residents? We complain, and we have a right to, that there are many shortages and that we have a long way to go before we fulfill our dreams. But let us compare the present state with prewar Lublin, and this is worth doing, because when we are conscious of the road we have traversed, it is easier to summon the strength to transform our dissatisfaction with the current state into creative activities.

Everything that was achieved did not come easily; it took a lot of hard work and sacrifices. The older generations of Lublin natives can boldly tell those who are today starting their lives: Accomplish more than we did, because we prepared a far better start in life for you than we could ever in our wildest dreams have imagined at the time that we started the hard work of rebirth.

It was in recognition of this hard work that the town of Lublin was awarded the Grand Cross of the Order of the Rebirth of Poland on the 40th anniversary of the historic manifesto. It is on this occasion that I extend to you, citizens, sincere congratulations and wishes that your successors may love this town as much as you and that they may be capable of working for it with similar devotion for the glory of Lublin and the good of its residents, as well as for the strength of the republic.

CSO: 2600/1159

NEW OPPOSITION STRATEGY DEBATED

Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 6, 7 Aug 84

[Article by Edward Modzelewski: "The Programs of the So-called New Opposition"]

[No 187, 6 Aug 84 p 3]

[Text] The advancing process of normalization in Poland, which can be seen, for example, in the growing reluctance of most sections of society to support the activities of the underground, has forced the domestic political oppositions and their Western masters to look for new programs. Let us examine this question.

One recurrent theme, obstinately raised by both subversive organizations in the West and oppositionists at home, is the problem of the reasons for the defeat suffered by the counterrevolution in Poland. Many reasons for this have been given, but one deserves special attention, since it is mentioned in numerous programs put forward as programs of action for the political opposition in Poland.

To begin with, let us examine an article by TYGODNIK POWSZECHNY commentator S. Kisielewski, entitled "An Introduction to the Program of the Opposition" (published in the Paris-based magazine KULTURA, No 1/2-1984).

Kisielewski writes that the enormous achievements of Solidarity came in a period when it was "transformed from a working-class movement into a bloodless nationwide insurrection," while its collapse was caused by the [word indistinct] working-class character of the movement, which was self-contradictory and responsible for the fact that it did not constitute quite the right antidote for Marxist-Leninist phraseology and doctrine. "Although it is not always aware of it (my emphasis--EM), the Polish working class, this dominant class in the country, grew out of Polish communism and its doctrines," says Kisielewski. What was this contradiction, according to Kisielewski? In his opinion, it consisted in the fact that "it is not possible... to fight against the concept of a total welfare state, arbitrarily guaranteeing employment to everyone, while at the same time staking one's faith on that welfare state and demanding more generous handouts. It's either this or that." Kisielewski therefore concludes that "as the programmatically dominant force, one that was proposing a new system, the workers performed disappointingly, as indeed they were bound to. They are too strongly tied to the communist-own-welfare state way of thinking and state-controlled forms of production to be able to oppose the very economic essence of that state."

Admittedly, there is a lot of truth in these observations. Yes, it is true that "as the programmatically dominant force, one that was proposing a new system" (in other words, as the force supposed to overthrow socialism), the workers turned in a disappointing performance. It is also true that this "dominant working class" grew out of Polish socialism and is linked to the socialist state, even if Kisielewski writes about this with contempt.

The working class did indeed disappoint those who wanted to exploit it for their own ends, ends which conflicted with its class interests, but it did not disappoint itself or--as Kisielewski puts it--the "sovereign nation." Contrary to what Kisielewski thinks, the interests of this class are in fact linked to socialism, and the overwhelming majority of this class has always been well aware of it.

It was precisely for this reason that, when the decisive confrontation came, the working class did not support those who were seeking to dismantle the socialist state. It did not support them because this was its own state, not perfect yet by any means, a state requiring many reforms and transformations, but a state created by this class. In this state, this class constitutes a real social and political force and it is in this and in no other state that it can forcefully demand its sovereign rights.

It is obvious that for Kisielewski Solidarity's greatest "successes" came in the period when it lost its "working-class character." Of course, by "successes," Kisielewski means an open struggle against the socialist state, which did indeed take place, especially in the second half of 1981. However, it should be realized that this "loss of working-class character" by Solidarity did not amount to a spontaneous transformation into a "nationwide movement" but in fact involved a fierce internal struggle against its working-class core.

By Solidarity's Gdansk Congress, union full-timers already accounted for 80 percent of the delegates, with only a tiny minority of them being workers. The working class was already no longer necessary, having served its purpose of setting in motion mechanisms amending the development of socialism in Poland, and therefore it could go away. Specialists from KSS-KOR, the KPN and extremists from the Solidarity leadership took charge of further "amendments." Everybody knows how these ended.

But what is Kisielewski proposing for the future, now that the hopes that the working class can be used for goals contrary to its interests have not been fulfilled? He says that "if some day we had a chance of implementing a program of reforms designed to restore the market economy and involve society in the process of production by enfranchizing it, then the group of workers would cease to be the driving force for change, and the essence and nature of the opposition would become different, as would its personal and social structure and the phraseology it uses." (my emphasis--E.M.) In another place, he writes that "the future opposition has to free itself primarily from the tradition and phraseology of the working-class movement."

This "involvement in production" and "enfranchisement" actually means reprivatization, of course.

In the above quotes, Kisielewski finally says quite openly what many of his friends at KULTURA, Radio Free Europe and in Poland merely hint at or disguise in various convoluted arguments. They simply want to draw up a program based on the introduction of a full market economy and general reprivatization. Were this program to be implemented, the working class would cease to be "the driving force for change" and, consequently, would not be able to prevent the final overthrow of socialism. But this begs the following question: what new force should the opposition rely on to implement this program? Kisielewski answers this question--"Politicians have often formulated their programs in a 'classless vacuum' and only afterwards have these programs acquired--often totally unexpectedly--social content." In other words, let's draft a program and then wait for something to turn up.

But Kisielewski is bothered by yet another problem, namely, what should be done with the working class when this program has been implemented. However, he has found an easy solution to this problem, too--we should simply bring about the self-elimination of the working class by allowing it to drift off to private trades, semi-legal services or straight back to the countryside.

Kisielewski pins great hopes on the countryside. "Agriculture," he writes, "is of course not only the ploughing of soil and sowing of grain, but also all the auxiliary industries, livestock farming, mills, slaughterhouses, smithies, food processing, fisheries, and also the leather, timber and food industries in the general sense. If these things could be reprivatized, along with the land, and genuine private cooperatives set up, an economic recovery would take place, the differences between town and country would vanish, the surplus manpower in industry and the bureaucrats would move to the countryside, and we could start thinking about improving our social structure."

All these things lead Kisielewski to just one conclusion. "The arguments of the countryside," he says, "are more authentic than those of the 'socialist town,' and its capacity for exerting pressure (food production) is greater. Kisielewski is simply disappointed with the "socialist" towns, which do not want to go on strike, so he proposes that we start everything all over again, beginning from the countryside this time. This, he thinks, is the main task of the "new opposition." You have to start from somewhere, he writes and this should be the "democratization of the base" and the "enfranchisement" of society. The time for the "superstructure" will come later. In other words, we should begin to reprivatize farming because towns do not really like to see themselves reprivatized. When we have taken the first steps in the countryside, the time for the "superstructure" is sure to come.

The fact that many people have attempted to use the working class as an object of political manipulations is obvious today. What is now, however, is the fact that Kisielewski has admitted this directly.



This is not the most important matter in this whole affair, however. More important is a certain mechanism for transmitting ideas between KULTURA, Radio Free Europe, and other subversive organizations on the one hand, and the Polish opposition on the other.

In his declaration "On the economy and workers' self-management," broadcast by Radio Free Europe on 18 April, Lech Walesa appropriated almost all of the ideas Kisielewski set out in his KULTURA article. Like Kisielewski, Walesa says that "cooperatives are an area where the autonomy and self-management of groups of people can be set in motion, an area which is largely independent of the authorities." Like Kisielewski, he would like to see workers "open private workshops and various firms" or take up "private farming."

This would be a trifling matter if the idea of encouraging society and the working class in particular to move into the private sector did not have a certain deeper significance.

Let us recall that, after 1980, organizations such as KSS-KOR, the KPN, and later on also the Solidarity extremists, concentrated all their efforts on splitting the working class. Their attempts to shatter the whole trade union movement, followed by unceasing attacks on the party and attempts to antagonize individual groups of workers by putting forward wage claims in different industries, followed by attempts to split the workforce (in the mines this involved the government proposal of work on Saturdays off)--all these things were aimed at smashing the unity of the working class. The organizations in question realized full well that, when quarreling amongst itself and divided, the working class ceases to be an important political force and is susceptible to external manipulation. Writing about Solidarity's successes when it lost its working-class character, Kisielewski knows full well that these successes were a result of this splitting campaign.

There is no doubt whatsoever that the proposal to separate off at least a section of the working class by drawing it into private forms of economic activity (including illegal ones)--a proposal presented by both Kisielewski and Walesa--is nothing else but a continuation of that same old policy. Only the methods have changed.

There is no possibility of breaking up the unity of the working class today using the methods applied in 1980 and 1981. The conditions are not present, neither are the possibilities, since the trade union and self-management movements are recovering. The recent elections to people's councils testified to what the majority of Polish society thinks about Poland's future development.

So only methods which seem classless are applicable today. Both Kisielewski and Walesa believe that another opportunity may crop up sometime in the future, so attempts have to be made to pave the way for this, at least in part, by getting rid of the most destructive element--the working class.

[No 188, 7 Aug 84 p 3]

[Text] Let us now take a look at the programmatic document entitled "Between the Poland of Our Desires and the Poland of Our Capabilities," which was read out over Radio Free Europe in late February and early March this year.

According to RFE, this document has been prepared by a group [of] contributors to an independent paper entitled POLITYKA POLSKA and deserves to be thoroughly discussed by the independent press. The language of this "document" indicates that it was written in circles associated with RFE itself. In fact, RFE does not even try to suggest that the text was written in Poland.

The text has six parts, each of which deals with a separate question.

In the first part, the authors attempt to sum up the achievements and failures of the years 1970-1981. They stubbornly propound the thesis (as old as it is false) that the workers' protest in the summer of 1980 was caused by the activity of the so-called democratic opposition, i.e., in practice, that of the Committee for Social Self-Defense/Workers Defense Committee [KSS KOR]. Next comes the allegation, also false, that the entire period of Solidarity's activity in fact constituted a so-called "self-limiting revolution." The only criticism of this period boils down to the remark that "the level of society's political education and the degree to which it was conscious of Poland's actual situation have to be considered far from satisfactory."

A section of part two is devoted to the international factors influencing developments in Poland after 1980 and to an analysis of Solidarity's tactics in this context. The "document's" authors blame Solidarity's leaders for the fact that the "aspirations to independence" visible in the organization took on a dangerous form expressed in the message to the working people of Eastern Europe issued by the Solidarity Congress. According to the authors, these so-called aspirations to independence (in reality a zoological form of anti-Sovietism) were quite natural and desirable, only they should not have been manifested so ostentatiously, given the international situation. As we can see, there is no revaluation of strategy here, just a minor comment on the question of tactics. Despite some criticism, the years 1980-81 generally receive a favorable assessment. The conclusion? The strategy was correct, it was the tactics that were wrong.

In the next part of the document, the authors move on to questions of program. They start off by "developing" Jacek Kuron's old ideas and I quote: "the approach which views the nation as a community, which excludes all mechanistic concepts of it being an organization or a herd, leaves no room for contradictions between the individual and the nation. The nation does not restrict the individual's rights, does not subjugate him, but constitute his greatest chance of self-fulfillment." The authors go on to say that "the state should be the most important institution of natural life." This does not sound bad at all, but the authors do not have a socialist state in mind. According to them,

the socialist state should be opposed by all means available, as it is not a sovereign one. The sovereign factor in this allegedly non-sovereign country is the nation, which, in turn, is something particularly precious to the sovereign individual. The author of this rehash of Kuron's ideas is apparently capable of demonstrating that the destruction of the economic foundations of the country strengthens the sovereignty of the nation and the individual. This is a feat of political acrobatics which the average mortal will find difficult to comprehend.

In the same part of the document, the authors present a lecture on democracy in historical and scientific terms.

Historically, they say, there have been two ways of understanding democracy. The first, incorrect approach dates back to Rousseau's concept of the social contract, based on the absolute sovereignty of the people. The second approach, which is correct and liberal, boils down to the principle of seeking social consensus through the free competition of political forces, each of which have equal rights." Socialist democracy is bad, because it fits into the first tradition, while bourgeois democracy is good, because it belongs to the second.

In the fourth part of the document, the authors continue their lecture on democracy, writing, among other things, that sometimes democracy can even transform itself into ochlocracy. Finally, after this lengthy theoretical introduction, they get down to brass tacks.

"The autonomy of economic life," they write, "does not in any way mean that economic activity is exempt from universal moral norms. Economics, like politics, have to be subordinated to ethics. That is why we support the idea of a social system founded on Catholic social teachings." Now things start to become clear.

But that is not the end of the matter. "Respect for private property is a precondition for social justice," we read further on. "Private ownership is rooted in the basic laws of nature. Property belongs to the person who legally comes into its possession. Hence, only property which has been acquired illegally can be expropriated. Property should be private in terms of ownership and public in terms of utilization." A sense of national solidarity, which include both the owners of the means of production and those who sell their labor, should take precedence over individual class interests.

As in Kisielewski's article, one matter deserves particular attention. This curious "program" mentions practically everything—except the working class. It talks about the nation, the Church and the intelligentsia, but the workers are missing. This is no accident. Workers, the document seems to say, should know their place.

This place is determined by Catholic social teachings, which sanction the division into the owners of the means of production and those who sell their labor. If a worker attempts to struggle for something better for himself or tries to defend what he has already won (as in Poland in August 1980), he should be stopped.

The fifth part of the "programmatic document" is devoted to international affairs. The Soviet Union, of course, attracts special attention. The authors say, for instance, that "Russia is Poland's main policy problem" and that "we have to accept our Eastern frontier" and "should refuse to involve ourselves in plans to break up Russia into separate nation-states." These ideas are indeed original. The final part of the document concentrates on instructions--an independent culture should be created by means of "developed network of independent libraries, galleries, theatres and concerts, etc.," although people should work in legal structures as well. The economic struggle should be waged on two planes. "On the one hand it should involve legislation and on the other a wide range of practical activities, such as setting up cooperatives, companies, private firms, workshops and farms, and organizing services. These activities should be given legal and financial assistance." Have we not heard this somewhere before?

Let me now say a few little about the tactics currently being proposed for the new opposition in Poland. [as printed]

KULTURA in Paris has published an interview on this subject with representatives of the so-called KOS organization (Circles for Social Defense). The interview basically comes down to the recommendation that the opposition gradually abandon underground activity and create an independent social movement, one not connected with Solidarity, which in favorable internal and external circumstances would provide political back-up for counterrevolutionary actions. Similar sentiments have been voiced by Aleksander Hala, a member of the so-called Solidarity Regional Coordinating Commission in Gdansk. Hala resigned from this commission and tried to outline the road to the future Poland. "Political options," he said, "should be presented by particular groups, communities and individuals at their own responsibility. I believe that the struggle in Poland will evolve in this direction and this will become even more distinct in the future. "This evolution undoubtedly corresponds to the present situation. A struggle of this sort can exert more effective public pressure on the authorities. This form of struggle should be continued until the general situation, particularly the situation outside Poland, matures enough for a qualitative new leap."

It is noticeable that not much has changed in the strategy of counterrevolution. "Freedom" (i.e., the freedom to launch counterrevolutionary actions) and "sovereignty" (i.e., splitting Poland off from the socialist community) are invariably the main strategic goals.

Representatives of these counterrevolutionary forces are today insisting that it was their tactics which failed them. This is true, their tactics did fail, but this was because their strategy failed as well, with their strategic goals being rejected by the vast majority of the Polish people and by the working class in particular.

CSO: 2600/1164

LIPSKI COMMENTS ON NATIONAL RECONCILIATION

Hamburg DER SPIEGEL in German No 31, 30 Jul 84 pp 90-92

[Interview with Jan Jozef Lipski by DER SPIEGEL: "The Amnesty Will Not Do for a New Beginning: Jan Jozef Lipski, the Civil Rights Advocate Living in Warsaw, on the Polish Amnesty"; date and place not specified]

[Text] As founding member of the KOR (**Workers Defense Committee**) and adviser of the trade union Solidarity, Jan Jozef Lipski was among the chief defendants of the dropped legal proceedings against five members of the leadership of this civil rights association. Arrested after the proclamation of martial law, he, a scholar of literature and member of the Polish Academy of Sciences, was set free in February of the past year because of a serious heart ailment because --in the words of Lipski--"our government does not like it when someone dies in a prison cell". Lipski, 58, already as a school boy took part in the Warsaw Uprising in 1944 against the Germans on the side of the noncommunist resistance army (AK). In the 1950's, he founded the discussion circle "Club of the Crooked Circle", which advocated a democratic socialism and was therefore prohibited by the then party chief Gomulka. Abroad, in the Western countries, Lipski became known above all through his illegally-published work "Two Fatherlands--Two Types of Patriotism", in which he denounces Polish chauvinism and seeks to promote a new historical consciousness of his compatriots vis-a-vis the Russian as well as the German neighboring people.

SPIEGEL: Mr Lipski, the amnesty law passed in Poland is assessed in the West as a substantial step on the road to a political normalization in your country. Is the political opposition in Poland also of this opinion?

LIPSKI: I cannot speak for the democratic opposition in Poland because I did not reconcile my opinion on the question you have posed with anyone. But on the basis of a discussion of the past few days I can say that the significance of the amnesty is by no means being underestimated by us. We are glad that so many people are being set free.

SPIEGEL: According to information by the Polish government, 652 political prisoners and approximately 35,000 other offenders are being released. But the political significance of the amnesty goes beyond this circle, does it not? What fault do you find with the law?

LIPSKI: Most of the people with whom I am in contact regard the amnesty legislation as inconsequential, as incomplete. For everything speaks for the fact that Bogdan Lis, one of the only recently arrested members of the Provisional Coordination Committee of Solidarnosc [Solidarity], as well as his colleague Piotr Mierzejewski, both accused of treason, are not to be amnestied.

SPIEGEL: But if they should be amnestied--would the provisional Solidarity leadership then give up its underground existence and surface?

LIPSKI: I am not authorized to speak for the trade union leadership in the underground. But according to everything known to me, I do not believe that the condition you have mentioned is sufficient to induce the Provisional Coordination Committee to change its prevailing position.

SPIEGEL: What other obstacles are there?

LIPSKI: For the assurance of immunity, Solidarity members active in the underground are required to make declarations of loyalty, as well as detailed confessions, which--this I do not have to explain to you--would endanger people who helped these individuals during their time in the underground. The requirement to make a confession is written into the amnesty law.

SPIEGEL: It contains a few other conditions. Thus, individual who have been granted amnesty and in the future violate one of the laws in effect can be arrested and then also be held legally responsible for the acts of which they were accused prior to the amnesty. Where is the difference between this conditional amnesty and release on probation?

LIPSKI: A very good question. One sees how little the amnesty will do for a real political new beginning. Nevertheless, I am of the opinion that this point is less important than the legal obligation with respect to the making of loyalty declarations and confessions.

SPIEGEL: Among the amnestied are also four prominent members of the former KOR (Workers Defense Committee), whose trial, after a 2-year-long preparation, was opened shortly before the amnesty announcement and immediately postponed. Why did the government go so far as to take these legal proceedings?

LIPSKI: That is puzzling for me as well. Possibly there were factors involved here of which I do not know anything. Of course, there were reasons for the date of the opening of the trial.

One of the defendants, Jacek Kuron, had threatened to begin a hunger strike if the government had not given up the delaying tactics it had pursued for months. And since there was the great possibility that other inmates and many people outside the prisons, too, would have joined in such a hunger

strike--with the appropriately great sensation--the government was forced to make the next move.

SPIEGEL: Why, in your view, did the government, then, at this point in time decide in favor of a comprehensive amnesty?

LIPSKI: The amnesty is intended, above all, as a signal to the public opinion of the West, as well as to various international organizations. As is well known, it matters a great deal to the Polish government to have the economic sanctions directed against Poland lifted [or] at least eased. Moreover, it is in great need of new credits from the West, especially from the World Bank.

Of course, one dare not underestimate the effects of the amnesty in one's own country. But these effects would be much greater if they would have relinquished all restrictions and conditions.

SPIEGEL: It will soon be possible to test what the amnesty is worth. The leading KOR-members, Jacek Kuron and Adam Michnik, reportedly have already declared that they intend to publish, immediately after their release, the pleas which they prepared for the trial.

LIPSKI: I, too, know of Kuron's declaration, and in the case of Michnik I regard such a decision as more than likely.

SPIEGEL: In short, it can be anticipated that the two will soon be behind bars again?

LIPSKI: Given the experience of the past few years, the decisions of our authorities are difficult to foresee. But I hardly believe that a publication of pleas prepared for a trial that was declared to be public will also entail judicial consequences. The effects on the image of the amnesty, after all, would be fatal.

SPIEGEL: Mr Lipski, in a few days Poland will, for first time in many years, will be a country without political prisoners. For how long, do you think, will this continue?

LIPSKI: In view of the slight chances which the amnesty law offers to the political underground for a self-initiated dissolution, there is, in my view, little reason for the hope that Poland will remain without political prisoners for a longer period of time. When the activities in the underground continue, there will also be arrests for political reasons.

SPIEGEL: In connection with the amnesty, the Catholic Church has demanded the resumption of the dialogue between government, church and a free trade union. Is that not very naive?

LIPSKI: Let me say at this point that DER SPIEGEL has already several times incorrectly estimated the role of the church. I was very disconcerted that you did not publish my opposition to a very polemical commentary. This was especially painful for me in view of the fact that I--a SPIEGEL reader for

decades--had not expected this reaction. You made it difficult for me to agree to this discussion. But the subject is so important to me that I decided to overcome my anger.

Back to your question. The church has in the past taken great pains to obtain the release of the political prisoners and to achieve reconciliation in the people, with changing methods and successes. I am not in a position to say whether negotiations on this subject are taking place or are being prepared.

SPIEGEL: The KOR-people have categorically refused to agree to the offer of emigration to the West or amnesty. Michnik declared that he would have to be carried out of the prison. He and the other defendants from the KOR, who were imprisoned for more than 2½ years, saw in the trial the only possibility to demonstrate their innocence before the public. Are the years in prison now simply forgotten?

LIPSKI: Unfortunately the amnesty law is juridically constructed in such a way that the amnesty cannot be rejected by those who are subject to it.

At the same time, however, and that is the vileness, an amnesty always contains a presumption of law concerning the guilt of the amnestied individual. Thus for him the no-escape situation comes about of not being able to demonstrate his innocence.

SPIEGEL: As far as the Polish laws are known to us, they envisage the possibility, in certain cases, for the individual citizen to initiate legal proceedings against the government. Will those concerned make use of this possibility?

LIPSKI: Of this I am convinced, but I have my doubts whether this will have any success in the case of an amnesty, which after all cannot be compared to an acquittal. The legal situation here is very complicated.

SPIEGEL: The situation is similar for the approximately 30 persons who are active in the political underground.

LIPSKI: Where did you get this figure?

SPIEGEL: It was reportedly cited by Zbigniew Bujak, the chairman of the Warsaw underground-Solidarity.

LIPSKI: I am not familiar with this statement by Bujak. But should I enumerate alone the people in the underground whom I personally know, I would likewise arrive at 30. And I am convinced that I do not know all the trade union members in the underground.

SPIEGEL: Let us acknowledge that the number is twice or even three times as high. What interests us: If, through discreet negotiations, the possibility develops for a self-initiated dissolution and a surfacing of the Provisional Solidarity Commission, would this also be the end of the organized opposition in Poland?



LIPSKI: I do not know anything about such negotiations, but should they be in progress and also lead to success, a rather ambivalent situation would arise. For I do not believe that the uncensored underground press in such a case would cease publication, that the book publishers working in the underground would break up. I greatly doubt this.

SPIEGEL: The amnesty law also contains an encoded offer in regard to the return of those Solidarity people who, after the imposition of martial law, remained in the West. Do you expect that many will make use of this offer?

LIPSKI: Of those who today play an important role in the West probably only a few will soon return to Poland. Especially because of the fact that, for a general clearing up of the political situation in Poland, something more would be necessary than merely an amnesty law.

SPIEGEL: What would you name in first place for a new political beginning?

LIPSKI: The restoration of trade union pluralism.

SPIEGEL: In short, the readmission of a free trade union. But that, after all, is illusory.

LIPSKI: That is really not so illusory. Even the trade union law now in effect envisages such a possibility after a certain transition phase. The important thing is that this possibility is, indeed, transformed into reality.

SPIEGEL: But does the political reality in Poland today provide even the smallest reason for such hopes?

LIPSKI: If I am to be sincere, then I doubt that our state leadership would be prepared for such a regulation without force. No matter for what reasons, if it be because of their own bad image or because of foreign policy considerations.

SPIEGEL: Mr Lipski, you were among the founding members of the KOR and should really also be one of the defendants in the KOR-trial. How do you assess your own situation?

LIPSKI: I was only suspended from the KOR-trial because the accusations raised against me were to be dealt with in a separate proceeding. Because of my weakened state of health my pre-trial confinement was lifted; a cardiology commission appointed by the prosecution had demanded this.

Because my friends, who originally were accused in the same legal proceedings, are now being released, I am expecting in the next few days a summons to appear before the prosecution, where I will probably be handed an amnesty letter.

SPIEGEL: The amnesty will bring freedom to a few hundred political prisoners. But is the significance of the amnesty in the life of the 36 million Poles? Is this step a chance to improve the relations between state power and society?

LIPSKI: That I doubt very much. Of course, there is joy throughout the country because people are being released from prison. Of course, certain hopes develop when the government decides to take a step which the population has been expecting for a long time.

But this step cannot lead to fundamental consequences in a situation in which a whole series of problems remain unsolved and in which also no attempts to solve them can be observed.

SPIEGEL: What would be necessary?

LIPSKI: The main demand, for trade union pluralism, I have already mentioned. Beyond this, there is a whole series of other important problems, the professional associations and other social organizations dissolved by the government. I myself was a member of the writers' union, which was liquidated, to replace it with a new one loyal to the state.

SPIEGEL: The prospects are rather gloomy. For at the same time when the government is releasing the political prisoners the party press casts suspicion on them as "Zionist and American agents".

LIPSKI: The state power evidently perceived the necessity of making it clear to the people that our conduct by no means deserves a mild judgement. Certainly a good many of these insults, to which, by the way, we are accustomed for years, this time go farther than usual. The press, too, just like the state leadership, has different opinions about the amnesty. But I believe that these things belong in different categories.

SPIEGEL: And what is concealed in the category Moscow?

LIPSKI: I suspect that Moscow played an important role in the decision concerning the amnesty. And there are quite rational grounds for this suspicion.

SPIEGEL: Nevertheless, the amnesty, in spite of all the half-heartedness, does not seem to be in harmony with the current policy of the Kremlin. Do you regard a single-handed effort on the part of Jaruzelski as possible?

LIPSKI: It is, indeed, difficult to recognize a harmonious coordination, but that does not necessarily exclude the assent of Moscow to the step by the Polish government.

Do not forget the fact that, for a number of years, Poland has presented the most difficult problem for the Eastern Bloc. For this reason alone, there must be a certain tolerance for the decisions of General Jaruzelski. For a way out of a situation, which has meant a heavy burden for all, including for Moscow, after all had to be found.

SPIEGEL: Mr Lipski, we thank you for this discussion.

8970  
CSO: 2300/609

## INDOCTRINATION OF PRE-CONSCRIPTS, CONSCRIPTS DISCUSSED

Warsaw MONITOR POLSKI in Polish No 13, 12 Jun 84 pp 125-126

[Decree No 16 of the chairman of the Council of Ministers on ideological indoctrination of pre-conscripts and conscripts, 7 May 1984]

[Text] In order to assure proper ideological indoctrination of pre-conscripts and conscripts and to ceremonialize the induction of conscripts to military service as well as the return to civilian life and employment of persons having already fulfilled military service, in accordance with article 23, sections 1 and 3 of the 21 November 1967 law on the general obligation to defend the Polish People's Republic (DZIENNIK USTAW, 1984, No 7, item 31), it is decreed that:

Section 1.1. In the political indoctrination of pre-conscripts and conscripts, the main effort should be placed on deepening the public awareness of civil and patriotic responsibility for the development of the socialist state and the strength of its armed forces as well as founding the conviction that military service is the honor and the patriotic duty of every young Pole.

Section 1.2 In political indoctrination using various forms of training and education, pre-conscripts and conscripts must especially be informed of:

- 1) the importance of the law on universal military service to the Polish People's Republic, the significance of the army's function in domestic and foreign affairs, the character and traditions of the Polish People's Army and the duties and rights of soldiers and their families;
- 2) the need for active and creative participation in solving the most important social, political and economic problems;
- 3) the opportunity to volunteer for training at military academies, higher officer's schools, warrant officer's schools and schools for noncommissioned officers as well as voluntary enlistment for basic military service and participation in training for the army's needed military professions within the cadet corps; at the same time, conscripts must be informed about enlistment requirements and conditions for acceptance and the nature of military service and training.

4) the opportunity to learn a profession or enhance one's professional qualifications during military service as well as the possibility of employment in a given territory on completion of service;

5) the necessity of scheduled appearance at an army unit and the consequences of violation of this responsibility;

6) the necessity of good behavior while travelling to the unit of service and on returning home after discharge as well as dignified representation of one's region, place of residence, place of work and school during military service.

Section 2.1. During registration, the period between registration and conscription and its completion and until conscripts have arrived at their service units, the mayors of primary cities, cities and communities and neighborhood authorities will organize ideological indoctrination of pre-conscripts and conscripts. This work is to be initiated and supervised by provincial governors (or the mayors of primary cities).

2. Ideological indoctrination should be organized in close cooperation with local public, youth and paramilitary organizations, state-owned work establishments, schools and garrison commanders, provincial military staffs and military draft boards.

3. Ideological indoctrination of pre-conscripts and conscripts should also involve provincial curatoria of education and upbringing, educational and professional advisory boards and professional training centers.

4. In the process of teaching students patriotic attitudes, higher schools should encourage commitment to defense responsibilities and especially prepare students for military pretraining in reserve warrant officer's schools and army units.

Section 3.1. The authorities of cities, communities, and cities and communities without regional draft commissions are required to organize, depending upon the number of conscripts (20 or more), ceremonial group departures of conscripts for appearance before an induction commission.

2. The use of transportation for departures, as stated in paragraph 1, may be organized as a personal and material benefit according to the principles of universal military duty and in a manner determined by conscription regulations.

Section 4.1. The mayors of primary cities and the authorities of cities, communities, cities and communities and neighborhoods will, in cooperation with state-owned work establishments employing smaller groups of conscripts, organize departure ceremonies for persons called to primary military service and these ceremonies will be instructional in nature.

2. Ceremonial departures at work establishments employing larger groups of conscripts will be organized and conducted by the directors of those same establishments.

3. The departure ceremonies are to be held during free hours, several days preceding the appearance of the conscripts at their army units.

4. During the departure ceremonies, it is particularly necessary to:

- 1) give conscripts due recognition for their work achievements, activity in political, social and youth organizations, achievements in public defense activities and defensive sports and also for patriotic and civil-minded attitudes within their communities;
- 2) point out the necessity of exemplary performance of soldierly duties as well as the entitlements associated with military service of soldiers and their families.
- 3) explanation of the conditions described in section 1, paragraph 2.

Section 5.1. The mayors of primary cities and the authorities of cities, communities, cities and communities and neighborhoods as well as the directors of work establishments are to organize ceremonies welcoming reserve soldiers returning to their places of residence and employment.

2. During the welcoming ceremonies, it is necessary to acquaint returning soldiers with:

- 1) the present social and economic situation, prospects for development of the region and place of employment as well as changes that have occurred during their absence from their places of residence and employment;
- 2) opportunities for:
  - a) employment with regard to professional skills acquired or improved during military service;
  - b) middle or higher education for workers;
  - c) reserve soldier work in public work in organizations such as the National Defense League, Naval League, Air Club of the Polish People's Republic, participation in the activities of specialized clubs (motor, boating or shooting clubs) and the practice of defense sports.

Section 6. In order to popularize the tradition of ceremonial departures of conscripts leaving for military service and the welcoming of soldiers returning to civilian life as well and to create the respective forms of ceremony, it is recommended that territorial organs of state administration, work establishments, higher schools and public, youth and paramilitary organizations:

- 1) closely cooperate in the organization of conscript departure ceremonies and welcoming of returning reserve soldiers;
- 2) that departures and welcoming activities be of an especially ceremonial nature;

3) that representatives of military units in the local garrison, provincial military staffs and draft boards, combat veterans, youth educators and reserve soldiers of great authority in the given community be invited to these ceremonies.

Section 7. In order to deepen the patriotic and military education of youth and to strengthen society's ties to the army, it is recommended that territorial organs of state administration, social and youth organizations, schools, higher schools and work establishments maintain lasting contacts with military units.

Section 8. Depending upon local conditions and the number of conscripts, sections 3-7 are valid, respectively, for the organization of departure and welcoming ceremonies in the case of persons called up for alternate service.

Section 9.1. The ministers of national defense, internal affairs, education and upbringing, science, higher education and technology, culture and art, administration and territorial management and the Council of Ministers member minister for youth affairs are to make useful recommendations for ideological indoctrination of pre-conscripts, conscripts and reserve soldiers.

2. The function of coordinator of ideological indoctrination of pre-conscripts, conscripts and reserve soldiers is exercised by the Council of Ministers member-minister for youth affairs.

Section 10. The chairman of the Committee for Polish Radio and Television Affairs will discuss the problems of patriotic and military education of youth in radio and television programs.

Section 11. The 2 November 1973 decree by the chairman of the Council of Ministers on ideological indoctrination of pre-conscripts, conscripts and reserve soldiers (MONITOR POLSKI, No 50, item 284 and 1980, No 1, item 3) is no longer valid.

Section 12. This decree will be valid on the day it is announced.

Chairman of the Council of Ministers General of the Army Wojciech Jaruzelski

12261

CSO: 2600/1114

ORZECZOWSKI'S BOOK CHALLENGES ADAM SCHAFF, DISSIDENTS

AU011536 Warsaw RZECZYWISTOSC in Polish 22 Jul 84 p 4

[Article by Ludwik Malinowski: "The Polish Road to Socialism"]

[Text] For some time now we have been witnessing a discussion about the history and presence of socialism in Poland. This discussion has often exceeded its normal limits and has entered the arena of ideological struggle. It is precisely to these issues that Marian Orzechowski's book "The Dispute About the Marxist Theory of Revolution" has been devoted.

The book is an interesting political-theoretical study connected with the development, conditions, history, present, and future of socialism in Poland. It is also a response to and polemic with Adam Schaff's book that was published in Vienna in 1982 under the title "The Communist Movement at a Crossroads."

Let us recall at this point that the leading motive of Schaff's book is the thesis that the socialist countries are stigmatized by "original sin" in that they dared to embrace the socialist system in the absence of the necessary objective and subjective conditions and, mainly, of developed capitalism. Already at this point it is possible to assert that this thesis responds to the theoreticians of Eurocommunism and to various extreme left-wing views and that therefore Schaff's views are neither original nor isolated. On the contrary, they are just a copy of old concepts--some of them hackneyed--served in a new way.

Marian Orzechowski writes about these issues, using an entire range of theoretical, historical, and contemporary justifications and tackling the basic aspects of socialist revolution and of socialism, which is now emerging and developing in real terms on many continents.

In defiance of what A. Schaff has written, Marian Orzechowski asserts that the socialist revolution constitutes at present a worldwide manifestation, that its course depends on many factors, and that therefore it is very often caused or strangled by the forces of imperialism. The present theory of socialist revolution is a summary of historical experience. It makes allowances for the requirements of the present time and for the development of the contemporary world, which is being torn by many contradictions.

The book broadly presents the issues of proletarian dictatorship in line with Leninist ideas, dictatorship that A. Schaff rejects together with the Leninist concept of a new type of party. In his book M. Orzechowski illustrates how A. Schaff's reasoning is wrong and how his interpretation of Lenin's thought is completely erroneous.

It is the exposition of Marxist-Leninist thought vis-a-vis many present problems rather than the polemic with A. Schaff, that is of great value in M. Orzechowski's book. This is in line with Marx' theory that assumes that communism is not a state of affairs that should be implemented or should be an ideal for life to follow.

The present practice of the countries of real socialism and of those in which the communist and revolutionary parties have taken over power indicates that it is possible to use different strategies of social changes. The common feature and central problem of these strategies is the relationship between the party, on the one hand, and the workers class and the masses, on the other.

Social practice is the ultimate yardstick of relations between the party and the masses. Orzechowski's book cites many theoretical and practical examples of socialist construction, most of them concerning Polish socialist construction. It is within the context of Poland that the polemic with A. Schaff becomes familiar and even comprehensible for us because the longest passage of A. Schaff's book is entitled "The Polish Lesson."

"Schaff's arguments against socialist revolution and its immaturity in Poland were erected on fragile foundations. He does not analyze. What he does is simply to pronounce verdicts, using abstract formulas torn out of the historical context of another epoch. He proceeds from a formula and not from an analysis of social reality carried out with the help of methodological tools supplied for researchers by Marxism-Leninism." ("The Dispute About the Marxist Theory of Revolution," page 248)

The development of the Polish state after 1945 makes it possible to put forward the thesis that the introduction and development of socialism was quite feasible in our country and that it is arrant nonsense to talk and write about a rather obscure "original sin."

Nor is it possible to agree with Schaff's concept that socialism has no chance of development in the countries with predominantly Catholic populations. Very many examples could be supplied from the contemporary world to prove the fallacy of that assertion.

As for Poland, the theme of Orzechowski's book is based on the very extensive present polemics in our country about the historical and contemporary determining factors of socialism, about the nature of socialism in Poland, about how socialism should be understood, about the sources of socialism, and about the Polish links with the nature of the socialist system. This means that the basic majority of the issues discussed by the book concerns the specific realities of Polish life. This is because the multitude of the crises harassing our country is responsible for the fact that almost every Pole approaches the problems agitating us in an entirely different way.



The reason for that is that every generation of Poles has produced its own vision of Poland and has searched for its own place in the implementation of this vision. The socialist Poland of the present betokens the creative efforts and work of past and present generations, which are implementing the vision of future Poland. Orzechowski's book rebukes all those mocking critics who want to revise Poland's political system or who assert that there is nothing in our country that could be changed for the better. During the innumerable discussions on that subject outside and inside the party, terms such as a just, democratic, self-governing, working, producing, strong, sovereign, and nationally homogeneous Poland continue to be bandied about.

But we should keep in mind that our response to those adjectives should be dignity and work of all of us. All of us should work normally, reliably, and honestly. We should be wise in and committed to work for our people and our state, that is, for ourselves.

The nature of the present stage of socialist development in Poland is represented by the crucial need to restore the positions of socialism in all spheres of public life and to develop and strengthen its contents.

The development process of People's Poland and the construction of the foundations of the new system calls not only for creating a material base, but also for gradually changing the socialist and cultural features of the Polish people and of present-day Poland. That is why it is now necessary to theoretically and practically consider the challenge of present-day civilization, the changes in the technological processes of production, the social consequences of these changes, and the threats to peace and to man's natural environment.

It is more than ever necessary to be aware of the important psychological problems that have so far been given little attention and even less publicity by the Marxist social sciences. Looking in Marxism-Leninism and in its materialistic and dialectic method--against the background of Poland--for an answer to new questions, which were not put to the classicists by the social reality and practice of the workers movement, helps to develop Marxism-Leninism and to enrich it with new motives, ideas, and theoretical proposals.

Today we can see how crucially the conditions of life in Poland are changing. Today we may no longer run away from reality and retire into ourselves. On the contrary, we must bring our dreams, plans, and intentions clear to reality. It is natural that many of us continue to make just claims for redress because in Poland there are still a great many objective and subjective determining factors in the unequal and unjust access of the people to material and cultural assets, although the law makes us all formally equal.

The structure of social justice is complicated and its implementation depends on many spheres of life--on production and its organization, on the place and role of direct producers in production, on the distribution of social prestige, on opportunities for developing an individual's own personality and for fulfilling his aspirations, and so on and so forth. That is why the Polish people, state, and authorities--all of us--have the basic duty of providing the necessary living conditions for all the working people, of gradually eliminating the differences that divide the classes and groups of society, and of developing a new ethos of work.

It is natural that at this point a question of basic importance be asked: How far are we, mere citizens, able to influence changes in our living conditions? The answer is unambiguous: All of us are able to influence these changes by dint of our daily work, for which, as things are now, we have little respect.

In 1930 Maria Dabrowska [Polish novelist, 1889-1965] wrote that all of us looked down on work and thought that we were born for something better, something extraordinary. In Poland work is an issue of fundamental significance for fulfilling the idea of social justice because work is a source of materials and spiritual values.

One factor in social justice is the dignity of work in the eyes of society, the importance of the values connected with work, and the social organization of work in such a way as to eliminate spurious, useless, formal, thoughtless, and chaotic work. It is precisely the idea of socialism that is responsible for the fact that the Polish people, especially the workers class, have developed a special sensitivity to all manifestations of social injustice, particularly to that injustice which is rooted in the wrong forms of government and in the wrong development of the socialist state.

As you can see, Orzechowski's book is a riposte to and a polemic against all those people and skeptics who maintain that there is nothing in Poland that can be changed. On the contrary, the book lists the changes that have taken and are taking place in Poland and that we often fail to notice. That is why our people continue to often ask what Poland will be like in the future. The clear answer to this question must be that Poland will be socialist.

In case anyone wants to know, Orzechowski's book has an introduction and a conclusion and its individual parts have titles that have nothing to do with chapters. Each part carries rich footnotes, which are proof of the rich and reliable reference base of the book, whose language is clear enough to make it even more valuable and readable.

CSO: 2600/1160

## HISTORICAL ROLE OF PRESS OUTLINED

Warsaw POLITKYA in Polish No 23, 9 Jun 84 p 14

[Article by Prof Jerzy Myslinski, director of the Center for the History of Polish Periodical Press of the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries at the PAN Literary Studies Institute].

[Text] On 23 July, it will be 40 years since the publication of the first issue of the Polish Committee for National Liberation [PKWN] newspaper RZECZPOSPOLITA in Chelm. The date is symbolic since the continuous development of the press in People's Poland dates from the first days of September 1944, when other papers such as the GAZETA LUBELSKA, later ROBOTNIK, GLOS LUDU, weeklies, and other papers began to appear in Lublin. The first radio station went on the air, while other publications were established. Few realize that in Lublin the newspaper was under the auspices of the local authorities who were subordinate to the emigre government, even before the establishment of the PKWN press.

## New Ground or Continuity

During the PKWN period it appeared that everything that was done in the area of press publication constitutes the beginning of a new development chain. From the most distant perspective it became evident that it was not possible to intentionally isolate oneself entirely from tradition, customs, habits, cultural, regional, and other conditioning.

The links between the former and current press were its creators--the journalists and publicists who, while eventually giving way to young and new journalists nevertheless continued to remind one of the former shape and form. All we need to do is recall the traditions of the Warsaw "reds," the outward forms of which were assimilated by the afternoon papers. After all, even though it has been a while many names recognized before 1939, especially those of columnists, writers, artists, and authors of satirical drawings and articles appeared and continue to do so. The people's press cultivated many old forms.

It would be ridiculous to compare today's general news and public affairs press with its interwar counterpart. Earlier it was perhaps more numerous insofar as publications were concerned and extremely diverse and published

in large numbers in small areas--and here we find no similarities. Even if we were to seek similarities in the homogeneous sounding Catholic press, there would be few similarities in anything other than titles. Today the press is being published for the reader who is better prepared and better educated in comparison with his predecessors. After all, the social countenance dominating Polish beliefs has changed significantly.

We see the greatest continuity in the sociocultural weeklies. This refers to the opinion-shaping role which they have played among the intelligentsia since the second half of the nineteenth century. They have circulated in Poland for approximately 20 years in incomparably larger numbers than during the interwar years. There are more of them particularly in the metropolitan cultural centers. They have served as a major channel for the dissemination of opinion and into sure extent at least the reflecting of public opinion.

The role of the local papers, specifically those published outside the provincial capitals before 1975, has changed in Poland. Traditionally they played a greater role in Slask, Poznan, and Pomerania. In other parts of the nation there were decidedly fewer of them before 1939, but one must remember that at the time the general news and public affairs newspapers published in the small cities and towns were largely and intentionally short-lived. For example, they were established during election campaigns. Fundamental changes which were initially critically accepted took place in this area after 1975. Here we are considering the establishment of local PZPR weeklies in provincial areas which until now had no daily press, nor editions of other papers.

The factory press was an altogether unknown form of public exchange which took place during the initial intensive industrialization of the nation. It was very sporadic during the 1950's, and only gained a firm foothold later in the larger industrial enterprises and large organizations. It was later developed and appropriately molded. Recently it appears to have lost its momentum.

The rapid launching of the press represented an undoubted success of the new and differentiated Polish society in the recovered territories. One can observe three centers of press publication activity: Wroclaw, Szczecin, and Koszalin. In 1971, for every 10 RSW press papers published outside Warsaw 5 were published in the recovered territories.

#### Statistics

Readers of the press do not care much for statistical facts and figures, so we will just hand out a small dose here. In 1948 there were 880 papers and periodicals. Consolidation later took place in conjunction with political changes which took place at the end of 1948 and in subsequent years. As a result in 1950 there were 446, of which 42 were newspapers; however, their circulation was much higher than the combined totals of all the press of 2 years before. The growth of the press was generally systematic and stabilized in 1980 at about 2,500. The number of newspapers grew more slowly (from 42 in 1950 to 88 in 1980).

Circulation also increased. The newspaper circulation in 1980 was twice that of 1955 (this year, in turn, circulation was 1 million less than in 1950). Periodical circulation tripled. In mid-1945 one-eighth of all publications and 10 percent of the newspapers were concentrated in Warsaw. By the end of that year one-third of all publications and 20 percent of the newspapers were published in Warsaw. In 1960 one-third of all newspapers and two-thirds of all periodicals were published in Warsaw, with a certain decentralization occurring in subsequent years.

Total annual press circulation for each citizen rose from 60 copies in 1949 to over 90 in 1970; while the highest level was achieved in 1974 (110 copies). However, nationwide distribution of the press was highly irregular.

Up until 1960, the major source of mass media besides the press was the radio. In 1949 the prewar level was surpassed insofar as the number of radio receivers (1.3 million receivers of which 670,000 were valve type receivers and only 200,000 were in the rural areas). The number of radio receivers grew rapidly, and in 1975 totaled 8 million, of which 5 million were in the cities.

Until 1960, television played a minimal role as a form of mass communication. Towards the end of 1960 less than .5 million receivers were registered; however, their numbers quickly grew in subsequent years and by 1980 totaled almost 8 million, of which 5.5 million were in the cities. During this television explosion local public pressure played a significant role.

Statistical information presents an overall idea as to the scope of the press and the number of radio and television sets. But it does not clarify very many questions. For example, one cannot ignore the existence of the significant percentage of illiterates, in the early post-war years (Second World War), whom the press could not reach. One cannot ignore the backwardness in the rural areas which in the past rarely received daily papers; nor were they accustomed to the popular weeklies and again not in all the regions. The situation began to change after 1960 when the urban population began to outnumber the rural population and when the educational level of the populace rose significantly. One cannot ignore the political aspects influencing the readers of the press and their perceptions of its contents. Things were different in the first half of the 1950's during the period of total political homogenization of the press, and to a large extent the obligatory factory subscriptions. And things were even more different during the increased public discussions of 1956, and altogether different during the second half of the 1970's. At that time, the illegal press appeared to be following a narrow course designed for various social groups, but mainly influencing the intelligentsia.

#### The Watchdog Role

During the initial stages of the Polish People's Republic attempts were made to formulate the press activities on the basis of negation, specifically what the Polish press should not be. In general, among the more ambitious journalists there was agreement that it should not imitate the interwar press and should not go in search of profits. Although the sensationalism of the pre-September press was criticized during various periods of the Polish People's Republic, there was no lack of the sensational.

The press function of serving as a link between public opinion and the government and authorities was seen as its main mission. It was also designed to serve as an organ of the government, the party, and other political parties, and at the same time as a public opinion organ. The role most often attributed to the press was that of public watchdog; however, there were no specifics on the subject as to a consensus and criticism and freedom of the press were perceived differently. The watchdog role also indicated the need to attract readers in assisting in the editing of the press.

During discussions on the role of the press, solutions concerning social aspects of the journalism profession were not ignored. We must remember that initially a large number of journalists who got their start in the interwar press joined the political opposition.

Beginning with the end of 1947, transformations began to take place in the Polish press which led to a state well-known during the first half of the 1950's.

The reconstruction of the press into one with centralized control over itself included a large number of journalists of working class and peasant origin. This shifting of the press onto a new track ended in 1949 together with the consolidation of press publications following the merger of the workers' parties, and the early elimination and limitation of press and publishing activities of the political parties.

Although economic topics dominated the Polish press of the time, this did not signify that it had influenced public economic education. Lenin's ideas of the early 1920's which demanded a critical look at the newspapers which he felt were dry, dull, uninteresting, and lacking in fighting spirit were completely ignored.

#### Information Policy

The most important centers of political decision concerning press matters were located within the central governing apparatus of the parties (the governing party after 1948) and depending on what period we are talking about, these were bodies in which public representatives or also members of the executive apparatus were predominant. All other institutions found within the government administrative structure in the enterprises, cooperatives, on lower party structural levels, and social organizations carried out informational policies inspired by central policy directives. During specific periods it is possible to isolate without any difficulty the names of persons leading those centers. This, however, is not essential. Nevertheless, the basic thrust of policy with regard to the mass media during a given period is important.

The basis for this policy were its general principles: the principle governing nationalization and socialization of the mass media and its technical base, party leadership of the media, and its service role with respect to government policy.

A systematic inspection of that policy is not possible; however, we will permit the introduction of the most important dates and happenings which represented the turning points and also changed the direction and methods of media leadership in a very fundamental manner. During the first period, that is until 1947, policy in this area was carried out by certain individual PPR [Polish Workers' Party] and PPS [Polish Socialist Party] activists who occupied government positions. Prominently noted in this respect were the positions of the undersecretary of state of the Council of Ministers Presidium, the minister of information and propaganda, the minister of public safety, who was in charge of media censorship until 1946 the minister of national defense, whose wartime agenda played a major role in the dissemination of information as well as in the direct publication of the press for the army and the civilian population. Important [PZPR] party and other political party press cells (departments, offices, sections, commissions) occupied less conspicuous positions of authority with Jerzy Borejsza, editor of CZYTELNIK, playing a very unique role. All of these political decisionmaking centers and some of the executive governmental bodies acted in an uncoordinated manner with regard to specifics. There was much friction in the area of jurisdiction, although their main political line could unequivocally be delineated. A fundamental element of PPR press policy was the 1947 Central Committee Secretariat resolution concerning CZYTELNIK and other decisions on the subject, which criticized the absence of a readers' press program and programs for the intermediate level and sections of the working class. The profile of the afternoon press was also defined later as being controlled by the party and aimed at a less active portion of the working class and the intermediate levels. The next date was the union of the PPR and PPS in December 1948. At the time the press of both parties was combined, while PPR journalists remained dominant. Publications were merged and control of the press was centralized. The RSW "prasa" [Press Workers' Cooperative Publishing House] was established in 1947, and it published PZPR newspapers and periodicals. Later it absorbed the CZYTELNIK Press Institute, and subsequently in 1972 the Ruch government distribution center. It became a type of press publishing consortium, a distribution, printing, and book publishing enterprise which included an information and publicity agency within its structure. That consortium which was in the form of a cooperative and included corporate bodies published and continues to publish the entire PZPR press, including the regional and central, including the majority of the remaining papers such as the sociocultural weeklies, the youth press, illustrated periodicals, a portion of the factory press, and many other publications.

Almost unnoticeable but nonetheless an important forecast of press policy for future years was 19 June 1948, at which time the powerful Ministry of Industry and Trade issued an order with regard to the release of information to the press, visibly restricting the public's knowledge of ministry activities and its subordinate enterprises in the economic sphere, and indirectly also the social sector. We cannot give such specific dates for the first half of the 1950's. In their public statements the majority of the political leaders advise the press first and foremost to carry out their organizational role and this mainly in the economic field. The first indicator of the ineffectiveness of the mass media of past years was the Warsaw branch SDP [Association

of Polish Journalists] discussion of June 1953. The chief problems concerning party control of the press and its operations were formulated in the 17 December 1956 policy statement article of TRYBUNA LUDU. The content of this article reflected signs of factional strife, and at the same time the majority of the press of those days was dominated by one wing of the party. October 1957, which represented the closing date of PO PROSTU, was symbolic. On 5 July 1953 W. Gomulka expressed the opinion that the Polish press "as a whole had become an instrument of party politics." In 1963 the press shrank as a result of a paper shortage, and printing problems on the one hand, and rapid development of television, on the other hand, which would become the main channel of propaganda in the 1970's. The year 1968 represented an important date insofar as political struggles were concerned, and was described as the struggle with revisionism and Zionism. One of the largest press personnel changes was the struggle's tangible symptom. Within the RSW Press alone it encompassed several hundred individuals, of which approximately one-third of the changes included management positions.

Several data can also be emphasized in the 1970's. The 18 August 1972 PZPR Central Committee Politburo resolution with regard to the TRYBUNA LUDU, and whose chief idea was the increase in the level of centralization of mass media operations and giving the central PZPR organ a leading role. In July 1973, radio and television were given the task of strengthening public trust in the party and the authorities through the subordination of all information-journalistic and artistic-entertainment activities to this goal. The February 1977 decisions defined the direction for the improvement of information and journalistic activities of the mass media and the role of criticism (including its constructive requirements). They assumed that the larger the communications source the more effective it will be on the recipients.

#### The Press and the Crisis

It is worthwhile to try and reflect upon certain recurrent symptoms in the media during times of political crises in Poland in the years 1956-57 and 1980-81. We recall that the dominance of television as a means of media communication in the late 1970's was only in its infancy in 1956. Radio also did not have as wide a scope as it does currently, especially in the rural areas. At that time the printed word was decisive.

Among other things, a crisis of confidence in the press and the efforts of editors and journalists existed during the initial stages of both crises. Attempts were made to overcome it by eliminating poor practices including extreme cases, and indulgence by certain editors and journalists of aspects of public opinion. In many of the editorial offices tendencies of editorial independence and the independent establishment of the political line of the newspapers, particularly the weeklies. During the 1950's and in recent years, pressure was exerted on the authorities in order to obtain concessions for new publications; however, during the first-mentioned crisis the establishment of these new periodicals, which might have been transformed into opposition organs despite the fact that some of their creators were PZPR members, was forbidden.



During time of crisis, exuberent journalism of a muckraking nature arose and developed, using a specific vocabulary of a generally high standard. Criticism concerned the most flagrant defects in sociopolitical, cultural, and above all economic life. In 1956 many muckraking articles were frequently inspired by the struggles among the factions fighting within the party.

During both crises there was a far-reaching polarization of the positions of the editorial staffs under the management of one editor. It was possible to observe acute altercations in the party press and in the weeklies which used to be politically identical. The political parties and the Catholic press reacted differently during both crises. For example, the SD [Democratic Party] press, reactivated after the personality cult period, was highly critical when the PAX press demonstrated extreme wariness. Recently there has not been such journalistic differentiation in this area and with the exception of individual publications, then and now, the differences in outlook divide the individual journalists more than the publications themselves.

The appearance of tendencies revising officially accepted views was characteristic of the journalism of the crisis period, including the future of the nation, economic, political, social, and cultural life. They went in different directions. Propaganda activities aimed at socializing all areas of life were spectacular, and the leading role of the party was interpreted in this context.

In both crises we observed the efforts of editors trying to suppress radical statements in the press, and in this regard the news and public affairs editors working in radio and television were more heavy-handed. These efforts were frequently ineffective, often unsuccessful, and it was necessary to undertake decisions such as suspension of publications and numerous personnel changes. Significant in 1956 was the evolution of a considerable number of the most radically inclined journalists. Some of the opposed the authorities, while the majority toed the line. And many advocated positions that could be characterized, to use the political jargon, as hard-line. A short time period does not allow for the formulation of an evaluation regarding recent years.

The Catholic press occupies a noticeable place in Poland. In reality, periodicals of other religious denominations also appeared and continue to do so, but the largest circulation was that of the press connected with the Roman Catholic Church. Most numerous were the religious publications for the faithful, organs of Catholic institutions, etc., which constituted the continuation of pre-1939. There did exist a group of several to several dozen publications which represented organs of secular Catholic organizations. Several among them were famous sociocultural religious weeklies and monthlies. The latter were very different with respect to orientation. During the initial stages of the Polish People's Republic there were three chief trends which were isolated and were represented by the Krakow TYGODNIK POWSZECHNY, TYGODNIK WARSZAWSKI, and the capital's DZIS I JUTRO, and finally KIERUNKI--all of them publications of the PAX society which since 1947 has also published a daily paper.

Only in the first half of the 1950's did the information monopoly belong to the PAX press (TYGODNIK POWSZECHNY also appeared under this name). Later the publishing center in Krakow was revived and other secular Catholic publications were also established.

We observed during the period discussed the intensified propaganda influence on Poland by foreign broadcasts, of which the most implacable opinion was presented not by the official broadcasting stations but by Radio Free Europe, financed by the United States Government. To a large extent the method for combatting foreign propaganda was changed. Whereas earlier indirect polemics had been employed, now the views of the opposition were quoted.

A remarkable increased interest in the press was noted during periods of crisis, and demand for the press occurred despite increased prices and distribution problems. That increase in press readership took place under stressful conditions, or one might say euphoric especially among the intelligentsia. Consequences were all the more difficult subsequent to this psychological climate.

Following the elimination of extremist tendencies the modified publications fell into great disfavor. There was decreased interest in the press, and passive and active attempts at boycotting it.

Regardless of differences in the evaluation of the press role during the crisis periods, there must be agreement on one issue and that is that the method of operation of the mass media was one of the fundamental crisis-precipitating factors. Above all, in pre-crisis cases where propaganda concerning achievements and information manipulation was superficial. The public's expectations towards the press, radio, and television as instruments of the two-way flow of information were high, but with time the conviction was confirmed that in the past they operated correctly only during post-crisis periods.

Substantial sectors of public opinion were susceptible to a peculiar propaganda fluctuation from a propaganda of success to one of defeat and vice versa. However, only very small groups could approve at various times the initiation of "a courtly atmosphere of subservience and solicitations for indulgence," if I may be permitted to quote verbatim from the report of the PZPR Central Committee commission appointed for the purpose of clarifying the causes and processes of social conflicts in the history of the Polish People's Republic.

The editors and readers of the press in Poland generally overestimated its role, while journalism specialist also overestimated it without realizing that their inquiries represented only a fraction of the comprehensive studies on issues, much greater in scope than those focusing exclusively on the mass media. Already in 1905 a press specialist had written on the subject saying "even though the press plays an important role in the creation of ideas and new trends, the source of these ideas, however, is not the press itself but rather society. People use water even without a water supply system, and therefore the water supply system is not the water source it only greatly facilitates and increases water use. Likewise, the press which disseminates new ideas to the public is not in itself the source of these new ideas."

Enough said !

## BRIEFS

MILEWSKI AT LENIN SHIPYARD--Public consultations on the tasks mandated by the decisions and resolutions of the PZPR Central Committee 16th Plenum for members of the shipyard party organization have begun at the Lenin Shipyard in Gdansk. As a part of these consultations a meeting was held on 7 August between Mirosław Milewski, member of the Politburo and secretary to the PZPR Central Committee, and members of the shipyard's social and political aktiv. This meeting was also attended by Janusz Maciejewicz, minister of metallurgy and the machine building industry. During the discussion period references were made to some of the critical problems being experienced by all of the shipyard's employees. Assessments and comments were made concerning the introduction of the new wage scale system over the past 2 months, a system which ties worker payrolls to labor productivity. M. Milewski offered his comments in reaction to the opinions and demands voiced during the meeting. He cited reasons to support, among other things, the usefulness of setting up worker-peasant audit bodies. [Text] [Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY in Polish 8 Aug 84 p 2]

CSO: 2600/1197

PROFESSOR DISCUSSES CAUSES OF LCY DECLINE

Belgrade INTERVJU in Serbo-Croatian 20 Jul 84 pp 16-19

[Interview with Dr Nikola Viskovic, law school professor and chairman of the Collegium for Theoretical Work of the Marxist Center in Split, by Rasko Kovacevic: "The Untied Hands of the Confederal Rulers"; date and place not specified]

[Text] Dr Nikola Viskovic is a professor at the law school in Split and chairman of the Collegium for Theoretical Work of the Marxist Center of the Croatian LC of the Split Community of Opstinas. He is the author of several books, among which the most notable is "Pojam prava" [The Concept of Law]. Recently he made a significant contribution to the series in KOMUNIST ("The League of Communists Today") with his article "The Causes of the Ineffectiveness of the League of Communists."

[Question] In every political organization there is both institutionalization and spontaneity. These processes are not incompatible; what is more, they are even complementary, but as a rule they are imbued with a certain tension, above all in vanguard movements which operate under extremely problematical conditions fraught with conflict. Moreover, the institutionalization may be bad or good, may be more or less functional from the standpoint of the political organization's goals. How does this appear in the League of Communists of Yugoslavia?

[Answer] First let me say that the institutionalization is bad if the institutional forms are rigid or hypertrophied, if its activity is formalized, if two-way communication has been weakened--the flow of ideas between the leadership and the rank and file, between the organization and the public.... It is good on the other hand insofar as it avoids all those shortcomings and contains firm and respected rules about duties, rights and responsibilities of the organization's members, especially the officeholders. If we assess the League of Communists from this viewpoint, then unfortunately we must conclude that the balance in it between institutionalization and spontaneity has recently been disturbed once again to the detriment of spontaneity and that at the same time there are more and more negative features in its institutional aspect. This is to be seen, for instance, in the predominance of the mode of operation through directives in the League of Communists, in the narrowing of its social base, i.e., in the diminished share and influence of industrial

workers, peasants, young people, women and the intelligentsia in it, not to mention the unemployed, seasonal workers and other groups which have become altogether marginalized as far as politics go.

[Question] Why did this happen? Why have those negative features of institutionalization come to prevail?

[Answer] First of all, because of the lack of integration and also because of the propensity to conflict in our society, as well as because of the inherited economic and cultural backwardness, which seek authoritarian solutions.... The reason lies in the perpetuated model of the party of the Third International, in the adverse international conditions, and so on. Yet I would emphasize one other cause, which is extremely essential, but also evidently neglected in our science and social criticism.

The strong social stratification which has been taking place in Yugoslavia in recent decades has affected even the League of Communists, and its membership is undergoing rapid differentiation, losing the working-class existential and moral and ideological unity it once had. Aside from all the differences in status and interests which arise among the producers themselves as the anticipated consequences of social development, within the League of Communists there are now also emerging the increasingly numerous and influential bureaucratic, managerial and other privatistic strata which are essentially alienated from the living conditions and aspirations of the producers, whether they produce physical goods or nonmaterial goods. The great economic and cultural power which these declassed strata have managed to acquire in society and the government is now striving to establish and legitimize itself in the social system as well by means of the League of Communists as the dominant political force.... These protagonists carry with them the certain bureaucratic, technocratic and petit bourgeois types of behavior and ideological matrices which tend to weaken the creative spontaneity in the revolutionary vanguard.

However, this essential circumstance, these changes in the class identity of the party and the corresponding shifts in the balance of power in society, the government and the party remain by and large unrecognized or at least unmentioned in most of our scientific and party analyses, indeed even in the most important programmatic documents. And that is only one more piece of evidence of the aggressive strength of the declassed strata and of their conservative views. The absence of the Marxist way of thinking [original reads "destruction"] is quite obvious, just as it is obvious that this state of affairs does after all suit someone.

[Question] The present manifestations of disunity, inconsistency and ineffectiveness in the League of Communists are more or less being explained primarily in terms of certain lapses in organization, in program, in economic policy or in ethics....

[Answer] The main cause, which is stubbornly "forgotten," is the social division of the organization. And then we have as a broader problem our nationalisms and particularisms which are building up in the political and economic system to the point of jeopardizing even the very nature of the "system" and

the vanguard nature of the League of Communists within it. They are not primarily the consequence of oversights in the social superstructure, of our unfortunate past, or of shortcomings in education or information, or the inappropriateness of political institutions and economic measures, or of the "lack of vigilance" of the so-called subjective forces, and so on, as this is often portrayed, but they are above all the consequence of the fact that the bureaucratic, managerial and privatistic strata have in work relations and the relations of distribution become the decisive factors within the various republic, federal, opstina, delegate and work communities or organizations.

After having managed to usurp the major portion of social ownership and management of the processes of work and distribution, this "new bourgeoisie" is now attempting, and in part succeeding, to set up its sovereign, encapsulated and mutually competitive regional governments and economic systems, to supply itself with its ridiculous and yet demagogically powerful nationalistic ideologies, and indeed even to take over certain segments of the League of Communists--all of this in a general order of confederated parcels which would allow the individual segments of that assemblage to have a free hand in exploiting the fragmented working class and in the free division of the "pie within each of the national communities." This is a chain of events which has already advanced quite far and an intention disintegrating a number of functional and regional communities (economic, governmental, political and cultural) which ought to be nuclei for development of self-management and the hegemony of the producers. Without being rhetorical, I think we are dealing here with a current of counterrevolution. How far this has gone we can judge, among other things, not only from the degree of contradictions and ineffectiveness in the League of Communists, but also from the mental block on the part of party members concerning this current.

[Question] I am aware of your thesis that the party, judging by the way it operates today, almost represents the pattern of a multiparty system. Haven't you also been struck by the increasingly obvious reduction of political pluralism to the multiparty system?

[Answer] First of all, the concept of political pluralism is in our country being erroneously reduced to the multiparty system. That concept is after all considerably richer, and the multiparty idea is only one of its possible contents, but not a necessary one.

The second error in our political jargon and also of the ideological apparatus of many Marxists lies in the failure to recognize and acknowledge the inevitability of political pluralism in such a complex society as Yugoslav society. If a significant stratification comes about in society, and that signifies an actual plurality of differing particular interests--economic, ethnic, ideological, cultural, and so on, then it is simply impossible to avoid such particular interests from expressing themselves, openly or disguised, normally or pathologically, as a pluralism of political interests and forms of decision-making.

Another essential question is whether and to what degree the ruling forces in the political system acknowledge that actual political pluralism as a

legitimate and lawful phenomenon. In our country since the war it has by and large been ideologically and legally stifled. Then gradual democratization has led to formal recognition of political expression of certain of the more important differences in interests through federative and delegate institutions, and even through decentralization of the party organizations, and all of this on the rather vague premise that we are dealing only with "interests in self-management." But the democratization has actually been somewhat broader, since it has also signified a tacit acknowledgment or toleration of certain interests which are rather debatable or patently incompatible with socialist and self-management values. Although that kind of tolerance has contributed to the general humanization of society, it contains at least two mistakes from the standpoint of the hegemony of the producers: first, the conditions have not been precisely stated for recognition of social and political participants and interests in the game, and second, it has thereby been made possible for those privileged social groups which do not share the working conditions, way of life and aspirations of the producer majority of society not only to penetrate all the economic, political and cultural institutions, including the party, but also to develop and become strong, nevertheless remaining cleverly concealed.

[Question] But is it not true that many limited and alienated interests do arise even within the League of Communists in a manner that would be too mild to call merely "federalistic"--in ways which are proper to a true multiparty system?

[Answer] However true it may be that these ways are proper to the multiparty system, it is equally true that with respect to their secrecy and uncontrollability they are also inappropriate to it.

It is paradoxical, and that is the most difficult thing about all this, that precisely the various segments of the working class, for whom the institutions of the "plurality of interests in self-management" were created, are the least present in this type of amorphous political pluralism. Not only does the bureaucratic, technocratic and privatistic usurpation of power penetrate numerous points of our excessively cumbersome and to a large degree disintegrated government and delegate system, including even the League of Communists, but it has also managed to marginalize the trade unions and the Socialist Alliance as the broadest democratic institutions of the political system.

I nevertheless think that the best way for the revolution to be defended and continued today, i.e., for the producers to attain complete control over the conditions and results of their work, is a persistent struggle for the class authenticity of the existing institutions and of the League of Communists. Only in this sense do I see justification for the recent reflections about reform of the political system--although I am utterly skeptical about frequent organizational "shakeups" and new paint jobs on political institutions, which as a rule are a matter of petty politics and a juridical alibi for preserving the relations that already exist in new forms or even for creating new arrays of jobs for the swollen bureaucracy. This is at the same time the true meaning of our normomania.

[Question] One question has more than ever before been preoccupying all of our people today: What sort of League of Communists do we desire and what sort do we not desire? There is no question that we are getting onto a plane of discussing the problems of a party which arouses aversion in some people....

[Answer] The communists have unfortunately reached the point of being obsessively concerned only with themselves. But not all equally, since they are not all even concerned about the present situation for the same reasons. The declassed segments of the party are primarily concerned about various ways of touching up the League of Communists in order to strengthen its monolithism and effectiveness for the goals to which they aspire. This is ignore all the fundamental dilemmas of social, political and party life and to persist in referring to questions of "improving work methods"--questions, say, like the election procedure, the length of the term of office and the "quotas" for representation of personnel, informing the members about the views of the leadership, the sporadic reaction to ideological "excesses," the drafting and execution of the measures of short-term economic policy, and so on. Of course, these operational matters are not unimportant, but it is indicative in a bad sense when they are constantly and separately imposed as the main or even the only content of party life. They are not directly related to the fundamental relations and dilemmas of society and the communist vanguard, so that discussions on them do not get down to the real problems of the League of Communists.

[Question] Privately most workers and those party members who truly share the manner of existence and aspirations of the class are putting different questions....

[Answer] Certainly they are concerned by the strategic issues of Yugoslav society and of the League of Communists: the issues of the League's ability to define society's long-range development, to guarantee equal opportunities for the advancement of individuals, groups and broader communities through work, to constantly broaden the social base of its political activity, to develop democracy in society and within the party, and also class unity and personnel selection based on a democratic procedure, to be concerned about the moral character of communists and especially the leaders.... We are dealing here with a reassessment of the very foundations of the party's identity.

But such matters arouse in certain people not only aversion, but anger and a readiness for aggression, since they reveal and threaten false allegiances and usurpations of power within the party and in society by those declassed groups I have been speaking about. And second, when personnel selection is defective, there will always be even among party members those who will tremble at questions which lead to establishing incompetence and mistakes, and which therefore lead to responsibility. The two reasons are connected, since the usurpation of power is favored to the greatest degree when the people around are incompetent and do not take responsibility, i.e., ideal poltroons, and the latter are in turn encouraged by materially and morally compromised people whom they can parasitize at their ease. The conclusion: constant discussion of the problems of the party, especially in difficult times like these, when in addition to the critical attitude, there is also a revival of attempts to



establish taboos and to mystify relations, is an essential prerequisite of class authenticity, of ideological vanguardism, of democracy and of the true unity and moral prestige of the party with the people.

[Question] People often talk about, and at the same time manipulate, the real and less real desires of the party. They say: the party truly wants a predominance of workers in its ranks (evidence is even presented in the number of newly enrolled workers in the LC), but the facts say, for instance, that industrial workers represent only 8 percent in the party, while engineers and technicians represent all of 75 percent. Is that relationship also a desire of the party?

[Answer] We have to stop talking about the League of Communists as though it were a single entity or an altogether homogeneous community. In a membership numbering 2 million there are today the entire range of interests and ideological positions, from concealed rightwingism and liberalism, to outright Stalinism, although the matrix of the organization is still made up by a majority of members whose orientation is toward self-management. It is clear, then, that within the League of Communists there are both those who desire and those who do not desire a working-class character of the party.

As against talk about "what ought to be," what we need here is a simple analysis of the facts. First of all, it is true that a numerical majority of one social group in an organization is not in and of itself a decisive indicator of the real power relations within it. Nevertheless, the opposite fact is very indicative: that in the League of Communists, a revolutionary organization in a society that is very much an industrial society in the classic sense, the most threatened segments of the workers constitute a minority segment of the membership and at the same time a majority of those who are dropping out of the organization. Further, it is also significant that production workers in the broad sense of the word, and that means those with the higher skills, constitute a minority at various levels of the League's leadership. Finally, it is true that for a long time now we have all been competing in statements about the necessary majority and above all real predominance of producers in the party, but we are not managing to achieve that at all, just as we are not managing to prevent their dropping out or to stimulate their return to the party. The vague assertion, frequently uttered, that "we" or "the party" wants a worker majority is a pure mystification.

Within the party itself there are also those who truly do not want that and who incidentally are doing quite well at seeing within the production relations themselves that many workers lose the desire for the League of Communists. After all, from the standpoint of the workers, belonging to a party is not a matter of formality, nor a road to a career, nor even a question merely of a principle or consciousness; the worker enters or withdraws from a political movement depending on whether he perceives that it is struggling effectively or not struggling for his long-term and everyday interests in his work, his income, his health, his housing, his rest and recreation, and so on. And this seems rather unclear among the workers today when it comes to the League of Communists, and that does not surprise me at all. Just as I am not surprised by the great alienation of young people and peasants from the League at present. What does it have to tell them or to offer them in particular?

[Question] On another occasion you recently said: "There are mechanisms which disorganize every attempt at political differentiation...." Would you please "expose" those mechanisms?

[Answer] The task of differentiation contains two fundamental problems: Who will be the protagonist--the initiator of the change of direction, and what will be the criterion by which behavior is judged? The initiators of the change in direction in the party could not as a matter of theory be either the class-party base or the leadership. Nevertheless, all communist organizations in power to date (other rules apply to those in opposition) have traditionally been set up--largely indeed because of the quite difficult social conditions in which they are operating--so that this latter possibility is realized incomparably more frequently and easily, while the former unfortunately occurs quite exceptionally and almost always with tragic consequences for those who started it and society at large. What is more, Poulantzas' thesis that power structures serve simultaneously for the organization and disorganization of social classes also applies to ruling communist parties and their governments. Communist parties in power have not disorganized only their own national bourgeoisies, which is a part of the content of the dictatorship of the proletariat, but along with organizing the working class in production and political reproduction, they have also prevented (disorganized) that class and the very base of the party for any direct instigation of large social changes. At the present moment, and contrary to the basic idea of self-management, that disintegrative role of the political system has again been strengthened in Yugoslavia: we recognize it in the political, legal, economic and cultural exclusiveness of our states, communes and OOUR's [basic organization of associated labor], in the "middleman" effects of the delegate system, in the millions of general legal acts in which even experts cannot get their bearings, all the way to the marginalization of the trade unions and the Socialist Alliance which we have mentioned.

[Question] However, there are certain problems at the level of the leadership, indeed even unity as to program. That is the first thing that the comrades in leadership bodies must agree on, and then initiate a new thrust in the people by the force of their example and correct guidelines....

[Answer] Today in Yugoslavia and in certain segments of the League of Communists there are only two elaborate and entire visions of the long-range development of society: the dogmatic-statist and the liberal-technocratic. Those are the visions of the future which are carried forward, mostly patterning themselves after external imperial models of "big brothers," by the bureaucracy and technocracy as the principal factions in our declassed middle strata. Opposed to one another in their basic principles, but in our country often tactically coordinated in the struggle for power, since both have ties to our nationalisms, today they both lead into the blind alley of the crisis of civilization of bourgeois society--the first into all-encompassing administration and mediocritization of social life by an omniscient "political mind," and the other to commodity-money "freedom" of competition among rampant private and group-ownership interests.

The third vision, the vision of a self-managing civilization on which so much work has been done, for example, by Marcuse and Lefebvre, has not yet been elaborated. There do nevertheless exist significant elements and a logic of the human experience which lead toward such a program. It is the first task of a revolutionary vanguard to offer a society of labor a futuristic project of that kind which arises out of reality and to do so as soon as possible, with unfettered boldness and imagination. That is today one of the tasks of central party leaderships, which in that regard must achieve the anticipated ideological and operational unity.

[Question] We are in a crisis. But it is talked about as though it were something almost metaphysical. It is well known that a crisis for some is an opportunity for others. Who is in the crisis? For whom is this crisis here and now a problem and for whom is it not?

[Answer] I do not agree with certain general notions of crisis which are circulating in the public. First, our predominant conception of the crisis is economistic and does not detect the all-inclusiveness and real severity of the disjointedness of almost all relations in the contemporary industrial world, which is split between abundance and poverty, between reason and insanity, between the needs and the capabilities of humanity at the transition to the 21st century. That is, they fail to recognize that the contradictions and choices we face are on the scale of the entire civilization, and it is therefore absurd for both average people and schoolchildren to be more concerned about the shortage of coffee or gasoline than the coming and soon perhaps irreversible shortages of food, nature, jobs, the health standard, housing, supportable life in the city, and so on.

Second, the internal aspects, sources and solutions of our economic and other problems are evaluated, but there is a failure to fully understand their structural dependence upon world processes, which by and large have their inception in the "metropolitan powers."

Third, many among us are irrationally frightened and demoralized by this crisis, as though there is no way out of it or at least no future for socialism, and they do not see in it the tips of the contradictions of bourgeois society, from which a new and universal (to be sure, very risky) revolutionary situation is coming about.

It is true that in the present economic recession, inflation and unemployment it is the workers who are suffering the most everywhere in the world and the peoples of the underdeveloped countries, and that at the same time the crisis is leaving great dilemmas concerning the historical orientation of socialist movements. Even in our country the decline in the standard of living has hurt the workers most, and it justifiably arouses resentment for that reason and because of a certain insensitivity which the League of Communists and the government have been showing toward their troubles.

Nevertheless, it is not surprising that today those who feel the greatest panic are precisely our bureaucratic, technocratic and petit bourgeois gentlemen and their numerous ideologues, since they understand very well that this

crisis most of all and definitively threatens their usurped positions of power and parasitic prosperity, and they also see that they themselves are above all to blame for this crisis and they might one day be made accountable for its social consequences.

[Question] And if a policy considers that one of its principal tasks is to bring back usurious rates of interest at any price, then I think that that is the policy of that privileged stratum which leads toward a long-term deterioration...." I am quoting you because I want to ask you: How long can the workers resist the pressures on their own standard of living?

[Answer] That aspect of the crisis has not yet been dealt with in our social theory, although it is very important--for one thing because a certain, and in my judgment necessary, measure of registered dissatisfaction and rebellion on the part of our workers would certainly motivate the League of Communists to begin to reflect and decide differently about certain fundamental social dilemmas and dilemmas in development.

It is certainly beyond dispute that the amount our people can take in economic and other troubles is extremely great, which in principle is a wonderful virtue, but in this situation it might even be an aggravating fact, since the technobureaucracy is counting on it in setting up its solutions in economic policy. The foundations of that kind of toughness are these: a long history of deprivation and of a low standard of living of our people, the necessity of depressing food prices and the fact that a portion of the urban population has its own sources of food in the country, the foreign exchange remittances from almost a million workers abroad, the "appropriation" of public property and work time, the readiness of our families with patriarchal habits to maintain adults and unemployed children for a lengthy period of time, and so on. These and other safety valves of dissatisfaction, among them also the compensatory enflaming of interethnic conflicts with some "sinful neighbor" always on duty are being counted on by those who consent to resolve the crisis through further pressure on labor and worker income according to all the rules of their own bureaucratic privileges or according to the newly learned instructions of neoliberalism.

It is clear that the dangers of this are manifold, above all for the class itself and for the League of Communists.

But only we communists are to blame for this, no one else. I once said this in public and was all but called to account: whenever the need arises to defend the rights of the workers and self-management, the communists ought to be the first to organize the workers to strike, not to pacify them.

7045

CSO: 2800/425

YUGOSLAVIA

CHURCH-NATION CONNECTION DISPUTED

Zagreb DANAS in Serbo-Croatian 3 Jul 84 p 19

[Article by Nenad Ivankovic: "The Church Does Not Create a Nation"]

[Text] Proceeding from the theological (political) formula that the "Church is a people that gives birth to nations," Spiro Marasovic, in the latest issue of CRKVE U SVIJETU (No. 2/84), in the article "Church, Nation, and Class," asserts that "the Croatian people are one of the peoples in which the Church has had such a (parental) role." Marasovic concludes his "clarification" of the relationship between the church and the nation, which his article in any case supports, with the claim that "the way in which the Catholic Church played an irreplaceable role in the formation of the Croatian people into a nation is shown by its very continued existence even today, and in the future it will also make a contribution to its preservation and development."

Naturally, no reasonable person today would deny the circumstances that in this area Catholicism played a prominent role in the formation of Croatian national awareness (primarily through a definite cultural model), but asserting that this role was primary and decisive (and furthermore that the church gave birth to the Croatian nation) is a grave historical falsehoods! This is demonstrated not just by historical science, but also by some of our modern theology, and so there really would be no point in proving to Marasovic and those thinking like him that they are wrong. It is more interesting to see why (and because of whom) he is writing his article, and of course, on what theological basis.

Admittedly, in his introduction, Marasovic expresses regret that the church is accused of a "tendency toward nationalism" and that it is as its guardian," while stressing that the only remedy for such "slanders" is a "continual explanation of concepts," which he then proceeds to provide. Thus his article, in form, was an attempt at a "clarification" of all the misunderstandings "produced" by secular criticism, and at the same time was motivated by this. This is only so in appearance, however. His fundamental intention (as is obvious from the text) is to deal critically with the theology that believes that an evangelical renewal is the primary task for this church "here" and "now" as well.

Specifically, in order for the church truly to become a community of "faith, love, and hope" it is necessary for it to be oriented more toward the transcendent, since too often in history it has been instead pervaded by a profane spirit,

frequently appearing as an ideological-political superstructure with ambitions of "sacralizing" the entire world and making it a sort of ecclesiastical parade ground. It was for that reason that the Second Vatican Council (1962-1965), with its aim of renewal, acknowledged the autonomy of the world, stressing the transcendental nature of the "community of God's people" as primary, and in accordance with this, stressing its fundamental orientation toward eschatological hope. In doing so, naturally, it did not neglect the church's need to become involved in secular matters as well, but nevertheless this is not its primary task. Now, however Spiro Marasovic is putting under a critical lens all of the theological views that accept this idea, or that as he puts it, accept that "this world has to a great extent become mature and autonomous in many areas of investigation and work" and that "fundamentally practice this." Furthermore, since they are now placing more stress on the spiritual dimension of the church, he is accusing them of an ecclesiastical monophysitism, i.e. of a heresy (since they no longer maintain that the church should be the guardian of everything under heaven).

This quasitheological criticism of an alleged ecclesiastical monophysitism conceals and in fact renews the old doctrine according to which the church is perceived primarily as a superstructure whose fundamental task is to deal with the matters of this world (with the intention of sacralizing it to the extent that the spirituality of this church becomes profane). Marasovic consequently exclaims that "there is also a certain (worldly) task" for the church, and his interpretation reduces the church to this one task. Finally, Marasovic, in fact, behaves here like those who in situations of modest public freedom warn of the danger of too great a democratization.

Thus, since he has put the church's secular interest in first place in place of the spiritual, it is not difficult for Marasovic to "demonstrate" that "this world's homeland and home" are the fundamental preoccupation of the church, and are furthermore its product, since "the Church is a people that gives birth to nations," since, as he "demonstrates," it always "advocates the unity" of the people, forms it, and serves it devotedly. This is naturally a notorious fabrication, at least for someone who knows even a little bit about history, e.g. our own. But we can perhaps discuss this on another occasion. It is more important here to point out the circumstance that Marasovic is interpreting Christianity (Catholicism) as if its focus were the people and not the person (the individual), as if it were sent to each people as a kind of separate entitie, and not to individuals, and as if the entire meaning of Christianity were to save "primary groups" of some kind, with the individual becoming important only to the extent that he has, as Marasovic beautifully puts it, "social legitimation and definition," "a country for a homeland." From this point of view it is quite clear that such an interpretive model of Christianity is not aimed at man and his personal freedom, and that for Marasovic the individual (the person) is not the highest value, or if he is then he is so somehow only as one of the people.

Furthermore, this naturally means that someone determines what is and what is not "social legitimation and definition," a homeland, and who can obtain one and who cannot, which leads in the end to a "distribution" of rights and freedoms (since an individuality that is not delegated according to someone obviously does not mean anything, and therefore does not even have any rights of its own). In short, this Christianity is presented as a sort of tribal ideology that in fact does not agree with the needs of the present, and is shown in its social involvement to be an undemocratic alternative.

Thus, it is not just a matter of some church figures in Yugoslavia taking positions that do not have a real historical foundation, and not even of this position's serving the special interests of an institution (which is naturally a fairly widespread mechanism), but rather of their doing this on the basis of a spiritual and theological position that, when its essence is revealed, says that there can be no ecclesiastical alternative, let alone any other, not even for those on whose behalf it is attempting to speak, since something that goes beyond respect for personal rights and freedoms (as fundamental values) truly is not what history says.

9909

CSO: 2800/421

YUGOSLAVIA

FINES INCREASED IN CRIMINAL CODE

Belgrade SLUZHBI LIST SFRJ No 34, 29 Jun 84 p 1

[Text] Decree proclaiming the law on changes to the criminal code of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia.

This proclaims the Law on Changes to the Criminal Code of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia that was adopted by the SFRY Assembly at the meeting of the Federal Council on 27 June 1984.

Belgrade, 27 June 1984.

President of the Presidency of the SFRY VESELIN DJURANOVIC

President of the SFRY Assembly DUSAN ALIMPIC

Law on Changes to the Criminal Code of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia

Article 1.

In the Criminal Code of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (SLUZHBI LIST SFRJ No 44/76), in article 39 paragraph 1 the words "five hundred," the words "fifty thousand" by the words "five hundred thousand," and the words "two hundred thousand" by the words "two million."

In paragraph 3 the word "hundred" is replaced by the words "five hundred."

Article 2.

In article 43 paragraph 1 item 6) the words "five hundred" are replaced by the words "two thousand five hundred."

Article 3.

In article 48 paragraph 2 item 5) the words "fifty thousand" are replaced by the words "five hundred thousand," and the words "two hundred thousand" by the words "two million."



Article 4.

In article 50 paragraph 3 the word "hundred" is replaced by the words "five hundred."

Article 5.

In article 167 paragraph 1 the words "ten thousand" are replaced by the words "fifty thousand."

Article 6.

In article 172 paragraph 3 the words "thirty thousand" are replaced by the words "one hundred fifty thousand."

In paragraph 4 the words "one hundred thousand" are replaced by the words "five hundred thousand."

Article 7.

In article 174 paragraph 4 the words "thirty thousand" are replaced by the words "one hundred fifty thousand."

Article 8.

In article 175 paragraph 2 the words "thirty thousand" are replaced by the words "one hundred fifty thousand."

Article 9.

In article 176 paragraph 2 the words "thirty thousand" are replaced by the words "one hundred fifty thousand."

Article 10.

In article 177 paragraph 1 the words "one hundred thousand" are replaced by the words "five hundred thousand."

Article 11.

In article 182 paragraph 1 the words "ten thousand" are replaced by the words "fifty thousand."

In paragraph 2 the words "one hundred thousand" are replaced by the words "five hundred thousand."

Article 12.

In article 223 paragraph 2 the words "thirty thousand" are replaced by the words "five hundred thousand."

In paragraph 3 the words "one hundred thousand" are replaced by the words "five hundred thousand."

Article 13.

Detention and other forms of the deprivation of freedom in connection with a criminal act will be taken into account in a fine based on legally adopted convictions before the day on which this law goes into effect in accordance with the provisions of this law.

The fine will be replaced by imprisonment based on legally adopted convictions before the day on which this law goes into effect in accordance with the regulations in force at the time of conviction.

Article 14.

This law goes into effect on 1 July 1984.

9909

CS0: 2800/421

## YUGOSLAVIA

### BRIEFS

ALBANIAN STUDY--Pristina, 22 August (TANJUG)--A two-part study dealing with the establishment of the Albanian nationality in Yugoslavia and its position since 1912, and with Stalinist nationalism and irredentism in Albania and its genesis, has just come off the press in Pristina. The author is Pristina University Rector Dr Hajredin Hodza, a well-known sociologist and political scientist. The book is published in both Albanian and Serbo-Croatian [no title given]. [Summary] [LD230517 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0948 GMT 22 Aug 84]

CSO: 2800/454

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